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The Middle East Journal

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INDEPENDENCE FOR LIBYA

The Political Problems

Ann Dearden

NEARLY A YEAR has passed since the former Italian colony of Libya was launched on the road to independence by the General Assembly of the United Nations. With only two years in which to complete the course its prospects of reaching the goal are by no means certain. But at least there is now a record of trial and error on which the merits of the venture can be assessed.

It was on November 21, 1949, that a plan for the future of Libya was approved at long last by the General Assembly. By the narrow margin of a single vote a resolution was passed to unite Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan, and to grant them independence as a single Libyan state not later than January 1, 1952. Provision was made for the appointment of a

♦ ANN DEARDEN has lived in Tripolitania for the past three years and has travelled extensively in Libya and the Middle East as correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. She was formerly a Diplomatic Correspondent on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* in London.

United Nations Commissioner who, aided by an international Advisory Council, was to help the people of Libya to draw up a constitution and form a government. Britain and France, while responsible still for day to day administration in the territories they occupied, were to prepare for the transfer of power in such ways as would bring this self-governing union about.

For the first time, then, in its history, the United Nations set about a political task of construction rather than repair. It was to create a state where the majority of inhabitants in some degree or other welcomed the project. The plan, complicated though it was, paid homage to each of the conflicting interests which had made its foundation so difficult. Whatever controversies existed, there was no armed conflict. There was no near threat of Communist intervention. It was therefore with reasonable confidence in the outcome of his labors that Mr. Adrian Pelt, the Dutchman who was chosen from the United Nations Secretariat to become Commissioner, arrived in Libya in January 1950. By April he had surveyed the territories, set up his headquarters in Tripolitania, and called his Council together. In accordance with the United Nations resolution, the Governments of Egypt, France, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States had appointed representatives to the Council and Mr. Pelt had consulted with local leaders to select four Libyan Councillors — a Cyrenaican, a Tripolitanian, a Fezzani, and one of Tripolitania's Italian colonists to represent the Libyan minorities.

The presence of a United Nations mission in Libya had at first the effect of an international trusteeship without the complications of introducing new international staff into purely administrative posts. British and French influence over local politics was diminished and Libyan leaders of the three territories had their first opportunities to consult one another. This greatly helped to clarify the sentiments of the Libyan people, who spoke and demonstrated more freely, and with a gathering emphasis on unity, directly they knew that their future did not lie with Britain and France alone. The weakness of international control has been demonstrated, however, by the tendency of some of the members of the Advisory Council to canvas their

governments' interests not only at the Council table but in the streets and coffee houses of the Libyan capitals, and to collect around them their local cliques and claques. Gradually the discord amongst the Powers that at Lake Success so long delayed a Libyan settlement has been transferred to Libya, there to be re-enacted amongst a deeply impressionable people. Unhappily the conflict has developed as a contest between East and West. Public debates in the Council Chamber have been fully as acrimonious as any others in all the experience of the United Nations, not excepting the sharpest exchanges between the Western Powers and Russia. The effect on local feeling has been to redivide and bewilder, as can be seen from a study of the problems that have confronted the United Nations Commissioner in each separate territory.

CYRENAICA

The first problem in Cyrenaica was the British relationship with the Amir Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi, which had already intensified separatist sentiments among the Sanusi and appeared to be leading rapidly toward a separate state. Britain had forestalled the United Nations resolution by recognizing, six months earlier, Sayyid Idris as ruler of Cyrenaica with power to set up a government in charge of internal affairs. The former British Chief Administrator had become British resident with control over foreign affairs and defense. The former British Administration had gone over to the service of the new Cyrenaican Government. Plans were afoot to build up a Cyrenaican army on the model of Jordan's Arab Legion. Draft Cyrenaican laws to replace the former Italian code were regularly issuing from the Government presses — including a Cyrenaican nationality law. These preparations for complete self-sufficiency were a consistent part of the British plan to maintain Cyrenaica as a military base, if necessary — a plan which in its security aspects found favor, naturally enough, with the United States and France. The finishing touch was contemplated in a treaty that would give Cyrenaica its full nominal independence and Britain defense facilities. Conversations to this end were already in

progress when Mr. Pelt first visited Cyrenaica in February, and in spite of his protests they continued. He had brought so open a mind to Libyan questions that it was hoped it might still open wide enough to admit a treaty that was judiciously designed to last only until the end of 1951. On April 2 the Amir of Cyrenaica publicly announced his intention to conclude the treaty. On April 18 the United Nations Commissioner intervened personally. He informed the Amir that there would be no objection to treaties between Libya and any other powers provided they were freely negotiated by an independent all Libyan government, but that any premature treaty concluded with a separate part of Libya would be held to have wrecked the United Nations resolution. To this assertion the Amir deferred, and the treaty was postponed.

This was a turning point in British policy in Libya and French policy was similarly affected. Britain had had to choose between two alternative risks to its own, and Western, security. The first was the postponement of a treaty that the Amir wanted immediately and might want less later on. The second was the damage that could be done to the United Nations by a British withdrawal from the Libyan resolution. In the light of world conditions the latter risk seemed the greater — a decision now amply justified in the light of world events.

From that time onwards the United Nations Commissioner suffered no obstruction from the Administrating Powers in Libya to his plans for unification, which were beginning to take more definite form. The change in British policy had been encouraged by signs of improved relations between Cyrenaicans and Tripolitarians. Up till 1950, though both peoples had subscribed to the idea of unity, Cyrenaican insistence on unity under the Sanusi, and Tripolitanian reluctance to accept Sanusi rule had led to an impasse.¹ In February of this year Bashir Bey Sadawi, the Tripolitanian emigré who had graduated from leadership of the National Council for the Liberation of Libya in Cairo to that of the Tripolitania National Congress, was able to inform the Amir of Cyrenaica that he could muster Tripoli-

¹ For a full discussion of this problem, see Benjamin Rivlin, "Unity and Nationalism in Libya," *Middle East Journal*, III (Jan. 1949), pp. 31-44.

tanian support for a loose federation of the Libyan territories under the Sanusi crown. This assessment appeared to be well founded. Sadawi had the backing of the Congress, a representative body that claims to include the major political parties and — more important — does actually include the chief religious leaders, whose influence goes deeper into the heart of the country than does that of mere politicians. Congress, moreover, was moved by two new considerations. Normally governed in its views by the Arab League and the Cairo Council for Liberation, it had become alarmed by the rigid anti-Sanusi attitude of these two bodies at a time when the Amir of Cyrenaica was so clearly going from strength to strength that if Tripolitania did not swim with him it might be sucked back again into an Italian orbit. These fears were aggravated by the evidence that the Arab League was prepared to go further than the Tripolitarians themselves toward a reconciliation with Italy.

This diagnosis of Tripolitanian sentiment formed a basis on which to reach an agreement that the Cyrenaican and Tripolitanian delegates on the UN Commissioner's Advisory Council should work for a federated Libya under the Amir. Mr. Pelt himself was prepared to advance this solution wholeheartedly since it embraced two unalterable features of the Libyan situation. The first is that the Sanusi today are the only solid political force in all three territories and cannot now be eclipsed — not, at least, in a twelve-month. The second is that the distances between the three Libyan capitals are so tremendous that regional administrations of some sort will be needed anyhow. The proposal, moreover, was not only supported by Britain, but, a little later, by the Fezzan and so indirectly by France.

The Amir of Cyrenaica was satisfied to underwrite the scheme so long as no further initiative was as yet required of him. He has always wished to insure himself against any risk of discomfiture from the Tripolitanian opposition which, although reduced to a minimum in the spring of 1950, can expand with remarkable rapidity if there is any change in the political wind. The real anti-Sanusi element in Tripolitania is in the towns, among people who under Italian influence have learned to like

European ways and fear the constraints on their freedom that could be imposed by a traditional monarch. Although this opposition centers in the small pro-Italian Istiqlal Party, largely financed by Italy, it goes far beyond party membership or even pro-Italian sentiment and expresses the outlook of ambitious men who want absolute power.

Against this potential danger as a permanent nucleus of disaffection in a Sanusi federation, the Amir has had to consider the attitude of his own Cyrenaican townsmen, whose loyalty might be strained if he did not give himself generously to any reasonable plan for Libyan unity. These townsmen, many of them Tripolitanian by origin, and influenced also by Egypt (Alexandria is nearer than Tripoli to Bengazi) find their political expression through the National Association (the former Omar Mukhtar Club), which has always placed Libyan unity above mere Cyrenaican interests. Starting from a group of students responsive to Arab League precepts, this party has gathered strength this year to the point where on June 6, in the first free elections to be held in Cyrenaica, it returned ten candidates to the new Cyrenaican parliament. Considering that there were only 50 seats for the electors and that 24 of these were uncontested, this was a high proportion of those that were put to the vote.

While the 300,000 Cyrenaicans are politically more than a match today for their 800,000 Tripolitanian brothers, they are less accomplished in the arts of living. The majority of people are Bedouin with a natural bent for stockbreeding, but until the skills of husbandry are taught them the animal wealth of the territory — its principal asset — cannot be fully realized. Practical difficulties are increased by the extensive war damage Cyrenaica suffered. Bengazi is a wreck and everywhere buildings, communications, and installations are smashed or in bad repair. With planning and education Cyrenaica could probably become self-sufficient within fifteen years. Its grant in aid from Britain was increased this year from about £400,000 per annum to over £1,000,000 to initiate long-term planning. The territory's dependence on benevolent outside help was reflected in the Amir's

speech from the throne at the opening of parliament on June 12, when he stressed his friendship with Britain and his hope that it would continue. Short of some miraculous bequest from the United Nations, this pressing economic need is bound to influence Cyrenaican policy.

THE FEZZAN

The French in the Fezzan were even more strongly entrenched than the British in Cyrenaica. Since their occupation of the territory in 1943, it had been totally cut off from the rest of Libya and administered as a unit of French North Africa. The French had never concealed their desire to maintain a hold on the Fezzan, partly for reasons of sentiment and partly to enjoy the use of the airstrips and strategic roads they have built there. To preserve their position by treaty became their objective after the United Nations resolution, and they prepared the ground by creating as quickly as possible a miniature replica of the British model in Cyrenaica.

In December 1949 the French Military Governor became French Resident and got ready to hand over titular rulership to a Fezzani. On February 12 an assembly of 58 representatives of all the districts of the Fezzan met at Sebha to elect a Chief of Territory. These representatives were themselves elected on a tolerably popular basis, as is traditional in the Fezzan. They were chosen by the Djemma, or regional committees, composed of heads of families, that regularly run the affairs of each township or village. The practice derives from an old Berber prejudice in favor of rule by committee rather than a single leader, and it has provided a simple system by which candidates for a regional or all-Libyan government can be elected without great dispute or delay. The Sebha assembly chose as their Chief of Territory Ahmad Bey Sayf al-Nasr, who, by agreement with France, had been Muttasarrif of the Fezzan since 1943. The following day a small Representative Council was established, having the same power over internal affairs as the Cyrenaican Government.

Ahmad Bey is one of the oldest living members of the Sanusi

Order and was leader of the Fezzan's resistance against the Italians. When at length he was defeated, the Italians confiscated his properties and he escaped to Chad. He returned in 1943 in company with the Free French forces and owes his position today to the prominent part he played in the territory's liberation. When first visited by Mr. Pelt in January 1950, he showed little interest in the United Nations resolution and was reluctant to commit himself to any program for unity. But in that visit the seeds of unity were sown.

The postponement of the British treaty with Cyrenaica was as much a disappointment to France as to Britain, but the French gradually associated themselves with the revised and more liberal British policy. When Mr. Pelt, accompanied by some of his Councillors, revisited the Fezzan in May, public opinion there had developed freely. At Sebha the Commission was greeted by a great demonstration in favor of Libyan unity. At Brach, where the people were profiting from some new wells built by the French, there was an equally strong demonstration in favor of France. For the first time Ahmad Bey was able to have private conversations with Tripolitanian and Cyrenaican representatives in the persons of Mr. Pelt's Libyan Councillors. The upshot was that he informed Mr. Pelt that he would support a Libyan federation and accept the Amir of Cyrenaica as his "overlord" provided the Amir did not interfere with the Fezzan's purely local affairs. At the same time he affirmed his friendship for France in much the same terms as the Amir of Cyrenaica was to affirm his friendship for Britain on June 12.

The Fezzani are among the poorest and most primitive communities in all Africa. Some 40,000 people scattered along three wadis, divided by great tracts of desert, scratch a living from the soil at the cost of exorbitant labor. The majority are little more than slaves to the small propertied class. Some economic reforms have been introduced by the French, who have built new wells and reclaimed 2,000 acres of land for distribution amongst the landless people. If material aid is not to come from any other source the Fezzani will want this bounty to continue — provided the political price is not too great. The French, on their part,

have tentatively supported the idea of Libyan federation under the Sanusi crown as the lesser of possible evils because rule along the coast of North Africa by Beys or Amirs in treaty relations with the West would offer less provocation to the French position in Tunisia — where a Bey is nominal ruler — than a Libyan nationalist government centered in Tripolitania and controlled by Egypt. Since May, Ahmad Bey and the Amir of Cyrenaica have concerted their actions, and the Fezzan should offer no obstacle to federal union so long as it can establish the same good relations with Tripolitania.

TRIPOLITANIA

The major problem in Tripolitania is the status of the 40,000 Italian colonists whom it is hoped to incorporate in the future Libyan State. There are other problems in Tripolitania, but none of this magnitude and none that would not be easier to solve were the Italian question not always brought into play. When the United Nations General Assembly adopted its scheme for Libya, most of the member states supporting it assumed that the Italian colonists would have a fair share in the project. Britain's own attitude had been expressed in the Bevin-Sforza plan which was defeated in the General Assembly in May 1949. This plan contemplated ten-year trusteeships in Cyrenaica and the Fezzan under Britain and France respectively and the return of Italy to Tripolitania as trustee for eight years from 1952. Although these proposals were rejected by the Assembly, the protection of Italian rights in Tripolitania remained a cornerstone of British policy.

When the United Nations Commissioner first came to Tripolitania, nothing had been done to give the Tripolitanians any real exercise in self government. It therefore became necessary to set up a local indigenous Administrative Council on the lines of the first Advisory Council that had been established in Cyrenaica as early as 1947. The question of Italian participation immediately arose. The British Administration refused to set up a Council without an Italian in it, while the Arabs refused to accept an Italian member. Through their leader, Bashir Bey Sadawi, they explained that they were prepared to accept Italians on

all representative Tripolitanian bodies provided they became Libyan citizens, but would not accept them so long as they were members of a foreign community with allegiance to Rome. Count Sforza in Rome anticipated this argument and had already envisaged a solution by which all the colonists would indeed become Libyan citizens, cease, where possible, exclusive activities, try to draw Arabs into their commercial and agricultural undertakings, and generally merge their interests. In theory this idea should have met all Arab contentions. In practice it would not work. In the first place, the Italian colonists will want to have far more confidence in the future Libyan state before they take the serious step of breaking with Rome. In the second, they know that even as Libyan citizens they will be a Christian minority in a Muslim country whose political and personal rights must be safeguarded by statute. Finally, so long as a Libyan state does not exist no one can become a Libyan citizen.

It was not until May 16 that an Administrative Council was formed, and then on a British undertaking that it would not be regarded as a fully representative body but simply as a group of members all Tripolitanian parties, communities and minorities, chosen not for their political applications but for their grasp of practical affairs. On this understanding an Italian member was admitted and the way was open at last for the United Nations Commissioner to propose the means by which the Cyrenaican Government, the Fezzan Representative Council, and the Tripolitanian Administrative Council could together produce the machinery for inter-Libyan consultation. He first recommended that local elections be held in each territory in order to make each local administrative body more nearly reflect the will of the people. These newly elected bodies were then themselves to elect seven candidates apiece to come together in a Preparatory Committee which would pave the way for the all-Libyan National Assembly that must draw up a constitution.

This plan was upset by Tripolitania's difficulties. Cyrenaica carried out elections and put forward seven Cyrenaicans for the Preparatory Committee by the middle of June. The Fezzan, through its traditional electoral system, did likewise. In Tripoli-

tania there was chaos. Full-scale elections seemed to be impossible, for neither an electoral law nor register had been prepared, and the problem of Italian participation remained unsolved. Bashir Bey Sadawi welcomed an excuse for the waiving of elections since he himself did not want to have to undergo the test of electoral opinion and the Egyptian and Pakistani representatives on Mr. Pelt's advisory council suddenly came forward as ardent champions of non-democratic processes. The Egyptian Councillor, who had previously criticised the arbitrary nature of the Fezzan electoral system, now demanded an even more arbitrary measure in Tripolitania. On the plea — a cogent one — that time was pressing, he proposed that Tripolitania's representatives to the Preparatory Committee be chosen on the advice of the existing and self-appointed Tripolitanian leaders. This proposal was supported by the majority of his fellow Councillors and so accepted by Mr. Pelt.

This Egyptian initiative revived the attachment of Bashir Sadawi to Egypt — a loyalty that was to be severely tried when the question of Italian participation came up. British attempts to persuade the Arabs to admit an Italian to the Preparatory Committee had failed so signally that Mr. Pelt had felt obliged to advise the Italians to withdraw from the political struggle until such a time as their status could be properly negotiated with a Libyan National Assembly, and to concentrate meanwhile on consolidating their private interests in Tripolitania.

This advice would have had to be taken had not the Egyptian and Pakistan Councillors transformed the situation overnight. On June 11 they presided over a private meeting between Bashir Sadawi and the Italian Councillor at which the Arab leader formally agreed to accept an Italian both on the Preparatory Committee and in the Libyan National Assembly. In the twinkling of an eye the two Muslim Councillors had achieved what Britain had failed to do in months. Though a startling *volte face* on the part of Sadawi, this was not a sudden departure from Egypt's and Pakistan's previous policies. Both countries had been prominent at Lake Success in pleading the cause of Libyan independence and unity, and their Councillors had since wit-

nessed in Libya this unity coming into shape along lines which they did not consider independent enough. Every development so far had been toward a federation under the Amir of Cyrenaica, that is to say in Egyptian eyes under a British "puppet" who became even more suspect once he appeared to have received the support of France. Already for many months Egypt had been seeking an alignment with Italy with a view, not only to ousting British influence from Libya, but to attracting at Lake Success the great voting power of the Latin American countries in favor of Egypt's case against Britain regarding the Sudan and the military occupation of the Suez Canal zone. Pakistan's sentiments were more emotional than political in that Pakistan wishes to assert itself as the leading architect of Muslim settlements for Muslim people independent of its ties with the British Commonwealth and the Western world.

Bashir Bey Sadawi made his agreement with Italy without consulting any other Tripolitanian leaders, and subsequently attempted to conduct a personal policy on the strength of Egypt's influence (and the Arab League money behind him) rather than popular support. The result in Tripolitania was to split not only the Congress Arabs but even the pro-Italians. Many of the latter resented Egypt's new role as Italy's protector, since they themselves had wanted to be both the agents and beneficiaries of any new accord with Italy. The result in Cyrenaica and the Fezzan was to arouse new misgivings about Libyan unity. It was only after protracted and earnest appeals from Mr. Pelt that the Amir of Cyrenaica and the Bey of the Fezzan were persuaded to accept an Italian as minorities representative on the Preparatory Committee. Both refused utterly to agree in advance to Italian participation in the Libyan National Assembly. On July 27, the Preparatory Committee was formed with one Italian and 20 Arab members. Thus the first inter-Libyan consultative body took shape.

It is not at all sure that the Italians are wise to contest each political step in Libya for the doubtful privilege of being hopelessly outnumbered in consultations conducted in a language they do not understand. The Italian position in Libya will be entirely

conditioned by the value the Tripolitani­ans come to place on the Italian colonists as economic partners. Apart from a possible rental for the valuable American airfield just outside Tripoli, Tripolitania has no direct prospects of external financial aid, as have Cyrenaica and the Fezzan. But it enjoys a higher standard of living largely through the presence of the Italian colonists. The Tripolitani­ans could exist without these colonists. They are a workmanlike people with a good traditional standard of settled agriculture² through which, together with their barley crops and stock breeding, they could, except in years of drought, make ends meet. The Italians, however, supply a great incentive to trade and maintain all the technical services. Their farms, which cover some 575,000 acres,³ will become a source of considerable wealth. These advantages can be even more firmly impressed on the Arab mind by such mutual arrangements as Count Sforza first had in mind. The creation of mixed Italian and Arab commercial companies, the introduction of an Italian bank which would make agricultural loans to both peoples and facilitate the negotiation of attractive trade terms could produce a better political settlement for Italy than the present struggle for trivial wayside prizes. This struggle appears to have no value for the future except that the delays and suspicions it provokes might eventually wreck the United Nations resolution. If that should be Italy's object it is no dishonor, for Italy is not bound by the resolution as are Egypt, Pakistan, and the Western Powers.

PROSPECTS

As matters stand, the scales are equally weighted for the success or failure of the United Nations resolution. On the one hand, some progress has been made in bringing the Libyans together in consultation. On the other, disintegrating forces are active both among the Libyans themselves and in the UN Commissioner's Advisory Council—the latter being symptomatic of the international tension over the fate of Libya. Whatever the

² See B. A. Keen, *The Agricultural Development of the Middle East* (London, 1946).

³ British Military Administration Department of Agriculture (Tripolitania), *Survey of Land Resources in Tripolitania* (1945). The same source gives figures of Arab cultivation as approximately 440,000 acres of static farms and 4,000,000 acres of shifting (cereal) cultivation.

aggregate view of Mr. Pelt's Councillors, not one of them — apart from the Libyans — has a pressing interest in Libyan unity. The first real justification for abandoning the goal would find the governments concerned returning to prepared positions — France to Fezzan and Britain to Cyrenaica. Tripolitania then would lie at the bidding of Egypt and Italy, with the United States as a possible third force.

Egypt would prefer unity postponed to a unity whose form might shut out Egyptian influence. If it could maintain its hold on a separated Tripolitania from which to impose its own conceptions of unity, it might feel it had served the Libyans better than if it had allowed them to become the prey of Western security interests. The Libyans themselves are torn between these two imperialisms — that of the West, which offers material aid in return for bases, and that of the Arab East, which offers the emotional satisfaction of Islamic isolationism in return for becoming the tools of Egyptian expansionism. And there is no doubt that in 1950 the Eastern ideas have gained on those of the West. The picture, however, must be viewed in its full international frame. The war in Korea has given an example of concerted action that has greatly strengthened United Nations authority. It has also made the non-Communist world deeply conscious of the overriding need to defend itself. Within this greater conflict an East-West quarrel in Libya assumes a more tractable character, and the United Nations Commissioner may yet find some compromise between Muslim ambitions and the common need for Mediterranean security.

None of these national or international considerations can be said to justify any departure in principle from the United Nations resolution. This year's experience has shown that the resolution was sound in aim, though it may have been faulty in the time it allowed for its realization. If the will — and the welfare and stability — of the Libyans is genuinely at heart, their independence and unity must follow in the end.

The only serious drawback to independence before 1952 is that the Tripolitaniens and Cyrenaicans are so disastrously inexperienced in self-management that they will need to employ vast

numbers of foreign specialists and civil servants. If they are prepared to do so, there seems to be no reason why they should not decide their own policies. As for unity, although the evidence that the Libyans overwhelmingly favor it is not conclusive, it has greatly increased; and there is all too much evidence of the makings of big Irredentist movements in all the territories if union is not achieved. The political settlements in Arab Asia after World War I have shown that although the partition of regions with natural affiliations may suit contemporary ruling cliques, it can lead to great instability and economic stupor later on.

It is recognized today that the larger geographical unit can better defend itself against internal unrest, enemy invasion, famine, and epidemic. Nor is it only in the Arab world where, for example, the unnatural economic barriers between Syria and Lebanon and the unnatural political friction between Jordan and Syria place a permanent curb on progress, that the fallacy of the "comfortable" small unit is demonstrated. Throughout the continent of Africa the modern need for aligning communications and pooling economic assets is so obstructed by political fragmentation that even contiguous British colonies that want to unite economically are unable to do so because their different forms of government cannot be reconciled. The Libyan territories of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan have still three separate currencies, customs tariffs, and educational systems — all imposed since their liberation from Italy. If for any reason these economic and cultural divisions are allowed to continue after 1951, a grave disservice will be done to the Libyan people. The political goal of unity may be hard to reach within the timetable. At least the economic basis could be laid.

THE INTERCHANGE OF GOVERNMENT EXPERTS

Dorothea Seelye Franck

PRESCRIPTIONS for the world's ills are as varied as their diagnoses, and unfortunately most, if sound, are more complicated to administer than a box of pills. Among the many prescriptions are two related government programs—cultural interchange to increase international understanding, and technical assistance to help backward countries develop themselves economically.

The United States, following the path laid by the technological revolutions in Great Britain, now carries the torch of material progress in the Western world. Its stake in the well-being of the rest of the world is tremendous, but its citizens do not yet feel a concern proportionate to that stake. They have not developed that habit of thinking in world terms which has become engrained, for example, in the British mind over the past two centuries. This lack of a public interest consonant with the United States' position of leadership constitutes a weakness—a weakness which, however, the Government's network of diplomatic posts, in the Middle East and elsewhere, is equipped to help fill. For this reason it was logical that the United States Government be given the authority and the funds for foreign cultural and development programs.

GOVERNMENTAL OR PRIVATE ACTIVITY?

One of the techniques common to both the U. S. cultural interchange and technical assistance programs is the interchange of government experts. Today the governments of the Middle East, like many others, are taking an increasingly active part in the

◆ DOROTHEA SEELYE FRANCK worked until 1948 in the Department of State's cultural program, first handling the exchange of professors and specialists with the Middle East, and later serving as head of the Education Unit in the Division of Exchange of Persons.

economic and social advance of their countries. To implement progressive programs they want American advisers in various fields, although their original preference for Americans over Europeans has recently been dampened by resentment at U. S. support of Israel and concern over being dragged into the U. S.-USSR conflict. Conversely, the Middle East governments want opportunities for their public servants to study and train in the United States — learning at first hand the operations of a stable democratic government, benefiting from its mistakes as well as its accomplishments.

In the case of advisers from the U. S., the Middle East governments sometimes need services which cannot be performed by private American groups or in which those groups are not interested. In other cases they prefer the advice of government representatives as being more disinterested, commercially and financially speaking, than that of representatives of business firms. Furthermore, even if payment is made for the services of American government officials, on the whole the expense to the Middle East government is less than that for equivalent services by Americans outside the government.

Nevertheless, it is "the American way" to encourage private American organizations to participate in this as in other parts of the assistance programs, as the various pieces of legislation indeed require. The question is when and how much? The distinction between service motives and profit motives must have been taken into consideration, even though they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However much American businessmen may resent U. S. Government "competition," the interests and desires of the Middle East governments must be taken into account, else the purposes of the programs are nullified. Whether to recommend American business firms to Middle East governments, which to recommend and how strongly to support them are delicate questions especially where their activities overlap government activities.¹ The issue of competition must not

¹ Overseas Consultants Inc., advisers plenipotentiary to the government of Iran, in their monumental report decry the inefficiency of bureaucratic government administration but at the same time outline a tremendous national plan organization necessitating the most detailed central administration. Vocal supporters of free enterprise, they appear them-

be overstated, however, for governmental advice generally leads to the enlistment of private American experts and organizations in carrying out the recommendations. An example of private cooperation in a government program is provided by the engineering firm of Morrison-Knudsen. Since the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation was not able to respond to all the requests from abroad for dam-designing, one of its officials suggested to Mr. Morrison that its dam operations, limited in the United States to building Bureau-designed dams, be extended overseas. The result was Morrison-Knudsen's formation of a subsidiary, International Engineering Company, whose engineers have designed dams, in the Middle East, for Turkey and Afghanistan.

In the case of government trainees coming to the United States from the Middle East, the division of labor between the U. S. Government and private American organizations and institutions appears to be smooth and coordinated — perhaps because there is no money to be made anyway. The only exception arises when Middle Easterners want training in American industries unwilling to risk revealing their trade secrets to potential competitors.

THE LAWS

In 1938, the United States Congress, foreshadowing the war-time "good neighbor policy," authorized the Department of State to launch a program of cultural cooperation with countries south of the border. Through the war years, overshadowed by the more publicized and better financed Office of Inter-American Affairs, the Department of State and 24 other government departments and agencies carried on a program of interchange of teachers, students and technical experts — including those working in the governments of the United States and the other American republics.

Not until ten years later did Congress round out the program, recognizing that our "neighbors" are no longer limited to our hemisphere. Early in 1948 it passed the so-called Smith-Mundt Act,² which extended to countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa

selves quite willing to assume functions elsewhere considered strictly governmental. See *Report on Seven-Year Development Plan of Iran*, OCI, Vol. 6.

² Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

the opportunity to join in the exchange program in which the American republics had been successfully cooperating.

Authorizing a world-wide informational and cultural program, including the Voice of America, the Act specifically provided for the assignment of U. S. Government experts abroad if "The Secretary [of State] finds that such assignment is necessary in the national interest of the United States, or such government agrees to reimburse the United States . . . or . . . such government shall have made an advance of funds, property or services. . . ." The Act authorized the executive branch not only to spend money but to accept money for these purposes. Not only can those now working in the Government volunteer for such assignments, but men and women outside the Government can be given civil service status and then detailed to overseas assignments for which they are qualified.

The Act permits the reverse of this process, that is, the assignment by another government of selected men and women to receive special training with U. S. Government departments. Requests for such training are received from foreign governments, generally for their civil servants but occasionally for private individuals who will return home after training to work in the public interest. Some of these trainees receive U. S. Government grants, others receive nothing from American sources, and still others have to pay a fee to cover the administrative costs of certain training programs.

The U. S. Government also welcomes the visits of official observers, men of high professional standing who have neither the time nor the need for intensive training but who are anxious to learn at first hand either of American government operations or of recent developments in their fields.

The Smith-Mundt Act sets two limitations: it does not authorize the assignment of American personnel for service relating to the armed forces of another government, and it specifies that government services shall be primarily "of an advisory, investigative, or instructional nature, or a demonstration of a technical process" — presumably to protect the interests of private business groups.

Within the maze of purposeful international programs there are differences which make separate programs involving the exchange of experts inevitable. Successive laws suggest some of those differences,³ but it is the administration of them which should keep overlapping down. As far as the exchange of government experts goes, the Fulbright Act of 1946,⁴ concentrating on the exchange of private individuals, can supplement the Smith-Mundt Act in only a limited way. Under Fulbright agreements signed with Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan and in effect this year, it is possible to use some of the pounds, rials, and rupees available for the round-trip travel to the United States of their citizens to study subjects preparing them for government service, thus supplementing the dollars contributed to their support either by the United States or their own governments.

The Economic Cooperation Act of 1948⁵ provides a technical assistance program for Turkey unequalled in the Middle East—and probably not to be equalled elsewhere even under Point Four. Exchange of government experts is an important part of that economic development program.

There is some question as to whether the "bold new program," announced as Point Four of the President's 1949 inaugural address, will be either bold or new or a program differing notably from those already successfully conducted in semi-obscurity. The slowness with which the program was activated by Congress did little to dispel the doubt. Nevertheless, the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1950⁶ did extend and strengthen the U. S. Government's technical assistance program. In connection with bilateral programs between the United States and individual foreign countries, the new law provided a more elastic framework for cooperative projects and did not limit the work of U. S. Government experts to investigating, demon-

³ Title IV of the "Foreign Economic Assistance Act of 1950," or Point Four, in authorizing technical cooperation programs, points out that they shall "not include such activities authorized by the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 [Smith-Mundt] . . . as are not primarily related to economic development nor activities undertaken . . . pursuant to the International Aviation Facilities Act . . . nor pursuant to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 [ECA]. . . ."

⁴ Public Law 584, 79th Congress.

⁵ Public Law 472, 80th Congress.

⁶ Public Law 535, 81st Congress.

strating, and advising. More important, it provided for multilateral programs by authorizing U. S. participation in UN Technical Assistance programs. U. S. Government experts may now be loaned to UN bodies for use in UN programs in foreign countries. So Middle East governments may now request assistance either from the United States or from the UN, which may in turn enlist the services of U. S. Government employees or private American citizens. As one of the "developed" UN members, the U. S. Government has been accepting UN trainees from the less developed countries since 1947.

It needs to be added that in all of these programs the principle of joint responsibility is basic. To date more than half the cost of the interchange of government experts has been borne by the Middle East governments.

THE PROGRAMS IN OPERATION

Even before the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948, the requests of Middle East governments for advisers were not completely disregarded. From 1943-46 small amounts of money were allocated annually from the President's Emergency Fund for a limited cultural program with the Middle East, China, and certain countries of Africa. The passage of the act in February 1948 was immediately effective in authorizing the Department of State to initiate projects paid for by cooperating Middle East governments. But no funds were appropriated for over a year.

The possibilities for expansion are revealed in small projects already carried on in agriculture and irrigation, civil aviation, geology, public health, and the social sciences — to choose a few examples.

Agriculture and Irrigation. The U. S. Department of Agriculture has worked out a sound pattern of collaboration with the other American republics which can easily be adjusted to the Middle East. Agricultural production in the Middle East, all experts agree, could be increased not only to meet present needs but even to provide exportable surpluses through using more efficient techniques, new and improved seeds, better livestock,

and machinery adapted to the area. Private American resources, especially those in universities, may be enlisted, but preliminary to their use must be the strengthening and improvement of the government agricultural organizations in the Middle East, and in this connection the interchange of government experts is important.

In response to urgent requests from several Middle East governments, an agricultural survey mission was sent to the Middle East in 1946 by the Departments of State and Agriculture. President Franklin Harris of Utah State Agricultural College, Dean Robert E. Buchanan of Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and Afif Tannous of the Department of Agriculture spent six months in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. They joined with local authorities in determining the possibilities for agricultural development projects; they shared American agricultural experience and advised on immediate agricultural problems. Subsequent detailed reports issued for the two youngest governments, Syria and Lebanon, made specific suggestions for the governments' organization of agricultural programs. As a result, the Syrian Government did hire three American agriculturalists, one of whom stayed on for two years, but his effectiveness was hampered by eight cabinet changes during his term of service. In 1949 Dr. Henry H. Jones was loaned by the Department of Agriculture to the Government of Egypt.

ECA launched a two-year project in the fall of 1949 to bridge the gap between modern agricultural science and its adaptation to Turkish farms. Ten U. S. agricultural specialists went to Turkey and 28 Turkish farm technicians came to the United States to study American techniques and carry them back to their government posts. During 1950 the Department of Agriculture had one trainee from Israel, one from Pakistan, and one from Iran, the last two being recipients of U. S. grants.

From the Nile to the Indus and beyond the development of irrigation and power is necessary to increase the cultivable land and thereby improve economic and social conditions in the face of population pressure and maldistribution. Since the design of large multi-purpose dams has been a U. S. Government func-

tion, it is to the U. S. Government that Middle East governments have been turning for help in dam design and in practical training for their own engineers, with extensive demands resulting for American equipment and the services of American construction firms. The Department of Interior's Bureau of Reclamation played a major part in the cooperative program with the other American Republics. Under an emergency Middle East program John Savage, its Chief Engineer, assigned primarily to China, consulted with Afghan authorities in 1944. Now that the Bureau is authorized to loan its engineers to Middle East governments, the shortage seems to be in qualified Bureau engineers. Nevertheless, in 1950 Frederick Wilhelm was loaned to Pakistan for two months to help study the possibilities of river basin development. Both an engineer and administrator, he found himself called upon for advice on an overall economic development plan including education and public health, and travelled 10,000 miles in East and West Pakistan during his stay. His observations impressed him with how Pakistan could help the United States in developing such techniques as desilting and river channelization.

For several years the Bureau has accepted trainees from the Middle East, most of them already experienced, for a year of on-the-job training with its own engineers and technicians. A fee of \$120 per trainee covers administrative costs. Any additional cost, the Bureau is convinced, is more than repaid by the volunteer services of the trainees. One of its leading "graduates" is M. Ludin, until recently Afghanistan's Minister of Public Works. Under the ECA program, two Turkish government engineers have spent six months studying U. S. hydroelectric facilities — both public and private. Five others spent a year in the United States, three of them with the Bureau, and the other two as mechanics with an American business firm. An Egyptian trainee combined work at the Grand Coulee Dam with graduate study at the University of Oregon. So far, Pakistan has provided the largest number of trainees from a Middle East country — ten in one year.

The Bureau feels that its most important contribution to the trainees is developing their ability to tackle a problem or job

with their own brains and particularly with their own hands — without reference to a book or orders to subordinates. During the trainees' assignment they get to know American publications and equipment and their return is often followed by government orders for both.

Civil Aviation. In the field of communications, the Commerce Department's Civil Aeronautics Administration has conducted an active Latin American program which it is prepared to extend to the Middle East. Its experts are sent to consult with aviation officials of other countries in "promoting uniform aviation standards, encouraging the provision of suitable facilities for air carriers, developing safety regulations, and the use of new technical instruments and equipment."⁷

With emergency funds an aeronautical inspector and an airways engineer were sent to Turkey for three months right after the war, when Turkey was launching a program of airport improvement. This was followed up in 1949 with the three months' assignment to Turkey of two more aviation experts, Francis J. Rhody and Cecil S. Fuller. Mr. Rhody also visited Lebanon in 1949, once to advise generally on its civil aviation development, and a second time to advise on installing navigational facilities at the Beirut airport. Under CAA's consideration have been technical air missions to several Middle East countries in response to government requests. These would include specialists who could suggest civil aviation programs compatible with the needs and resources of each country.

Few Middle East trainees have been able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by CAA in cooperation with the airlines and the aircraft industry. Three from Turkey in 1949 did get practical experience in aeronautical engineering, two of them with Beech Aircraft in Kansas and one of them at a CAA aeronautical center. Under ECA, three Turkish civil aviation technicians came to the United States in 1950 to observe CAA's system of airways traffic control.⁸

⁷ Theodore C. Uebel, "U. S. Technical Cooperation in Civil Aviation," *The Record*, U. S. Department of State, March-April, 1948.

⁸ Some of these activities are carried on under the International Aviation Facilities Act of 1948.

Public Health. The Middle East faces a staggering problem in raising health conditions to the level where at least a majority of the people have the stamina to work effectively and to absorb new ideas. So far, private American institutions and firms have been more active in this sphere than has the U. S. Government. Now, however, the U. S. Government, directly and in cooperation with private and international organizations, can help the Middle East governments in planning public health programs. Under the emergency program, one government public health doctor, Dr. H. Hafezi of Iran, was invited to the United States for six months to observe work in this country. Possibly as an outgrowth of that visit, Iran requested American advice in planning an intensive campaign to stamp out the malaria which saps the strength of two-thirds of its people. The U. S. Public Health Service assigned Dr. Justin Andrews to six weeks' service in Iran. With an extensive background in tropical medicine, Dr. Andrews surveyed the needs and outlined immediate and long-term procedures. His report⁹ exemplifies both the philosophy and potential effectiveness of the government exchange program. In recommending a carefully budgeted, decentralized program of DDT-spraying in three stages — demonstration, operation and maintenance — Dr. Andrews suggested a framework for government activity, both through a Ministry of Health malaria control unit and through provincial administrative units. Recognizing the lack of Iranians trained to meet the malaria problem, he urged a search for experienced foreigners along with a program to train Iranians, both in Iran and abroad, to take over eventually. He underlined the importance of the landowners' participation in financing and carrying out programs of disease reduction. He also indicated ways in which non-Iranian official and voluntary agencies could help in the campaign — among them the World Health Organization, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Near East Foundation. Upon the basis of Dr. Andrews' report, the U. S. Public Health Service sent to Iran Lawrence Hall, an engineer experienced in directing DDT-spraying operations, and an entomologist, Richard P. Dow. The

⁹ Justin M. Andrews, *Report to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, March 1949*. Washington: U. S. Public Health Service.

Government of Iran covered the expenses of these experts, while the U. S. Public Health Service paid their salaries. In March 1950 three Public Health Service officers were detailed to Iran to help the government develop a strong national health service: Dr. Emil E. Plamquist, director of public health for Seattle; Frederick F. Aldridge, a sanitary engineer; and Esther Finley, a public health nurse.

Although the U. S. Public Health Service has a well-developed training program and offers some grants, few doctors or nurses from the Middle East have yet taken advantage of them. Two young doctors from Turkey spent a year interning at hospitals operated by the service, with living furnished by the hospitals. Shortly after Syria attained independence, its Government sent 13 government doctors to the U. S. for advanced training. The Public Health Service planned each doctor's program with a combination of observation and practice — wherever a little practice was possible under the United States' strict medical regulations. Lebanon received a trainee grant for 1950-51, and a public health trainee from Afghanistan was expected.

Geology and Mines. Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines, both divisions in the Department of Interior, have much to offer the Middle East although so far Afghanistan is the only country in the area making real use of their resources. A combined mission was requested by the Afghan Government, at the stimulus of a young American mining engineer employed by it, and in 1949 two geologists were loaned on a reimbursal basis. So fruitful was the work that one of them, Dwight M. Lemmon, remained under a U. S. Government grant. A U. S. Government mining engineer, Melden E. Volin, assisted by a drilling technician, spent six months in Afghanistan examining certain deposits to find out whether they could be commercially developed. Besides making practical recommendations, Mr. Volin trained his Afghan assistants in special techniques, such as sampling. In the fall of 1950 Glen Francis Brown of Geological Survey was scheduled to go to Saudi Arabia to start a ground water survey. The Bureau of Mines has had a UN trainee from

Iran working at its research laboratories, and Geological Survey had a trainee from Iraq, recipient of a U. S. Government grant.

Social Science and Welfare. The Middle East governments are training numerous people in the technical fields, but few, if any, in the social welfare field. This is a natural tendency in view of the governments' drive for quick results as measured by increased production. But the need for developing the human resources, although appearing to be less urgent, is equally important in the long run.

Over the last generation the U. S. Government has widely extended its social programs. Backed by that experience it is in a sound position to supplement in the field of social welfare the exchange activities of Middle East governments in technical fields. Much of their success in adopting modern technology will depend on an enlargement of aid in tackling the serious problems in Middle East social organizations. To date, however, the exchanges in this area of study have been few. In 1949-50 ECA sent a social security expert and a fiscal expert, Roy Blough, to Turkey. A two-way ECA project to help Turkey develop census techniques and statistical information involved the service in Turkey of three American experts, and the training in the United States of ten Turkish statisticians at the U. S. Census and Budget Bureaus. Loaned to Turkey in 1949 under the Smith-Mundt Act were three officials of the U. S. Post Office Department. And in June 1950 an official of the U. S. Government's Bureau of Apprenticeship was sent to Iran to help carry out industrial training projects. As for trainees — two grants went to Pakistan in 1950, one in business economics and one in census techniques.

THE PREREQUISITES FOR SUCCESS

The prerequisites for an effective interchange of government experts divide themselves into those related to the cooperating governments and those related to United States Government administration. Many of the difficulties in past programs reflect a lack of preparation and lack of concern with these prerequisites by both parties.

Middle East governments have tended to ask for more services than they can reasonably absorb and make use of. Each government must examine carefully its own needs, both for the direct advice of American civil servants and for the American training of its own civil servants. This weighing of needs may itself require outside help — sometimes called “pretechnical assistance.” At the same time, governments should be able to respond to specific offers — unlike that one which was unable to accept a 1950 training grant because it could not select a candidate in the six months remaining before the end of the fiscal year. Ideally, government projects should be worked out in relation to the opportunities offered by both the U. S. and international agencies.

It goes almost without saying — because it has been said so often — that a prerequisite to success in the Middle East is relatively stable governments to carry out the projects. But it is equally important to have them guided by administrators sincerely devoted to the public service. And of course, the better trained those administrators in the appropriate fields, the more successful the projects. Experience has shown that only the closest and most intelligent support of American advisers’ efforts, both by the government as a whole and by individual civil servants, will make the effort and expense worthwhile. The American adviser must feel free to express his conviction to the proper government official, and those officials must be willing and able to face the issues squarely — a situation not often encountered so far.

One Middle East representative suggested that in the long run trainees provided a better “investment” than did advisers. He calculated that four or five trainees could spend a year in the United States on the funds required to hire an American adviser for the year. While the adviser would offer suggestions in one field during that year, the trainees would return for a lifetime of service in several fields. As evidence of the lack of permanent effectiveness of outside advice he cited the case of a foreign agricultural expert who developed an excellent new seed adapted

to the country but who left behind him not enough trained nationals to grow seeds for general use.

On the other hand, young nationals of the country, whether trained abroad or at home, are frequently refused scope for their abilities. One American expert from the Middle East recently remarked that one of his accomplishments was to reinforce the recommendations of the country's own engineers, who were quite capable, he felt, of assuming full responsibility. Instance after instance can be cited of trained but discouraged young men and women deserting their own government services for the import-export business at home or more fruitful public service abroad. The responsibility for correcting such inefficient use of the meager exchange program resources no doubt rests with both the American and Middle Eastern parties.

Finally, there must be a follow-up of the technical recommendations. It is only too easy for a government, in response to popular or international pressure, to invite the attentions of a survey mission only to file its reports without real consideration, or to spend money on trainees only to relegate them to routine jobs. Commenting on an international commission's 1949 report, a resigned American educator in the Middle East recently wrote that it had had no publicity, and he had never heard it discussed. He surmised that since one ministry was not interested in the projects of its predecessor, the report would be pigeonholed and forgotten.

It is always simpler to accept advice with polite thanks (whether from foreign experts or one's own returned citizens) than to carry it out, since much of it is necessarily radical—radical in getting down to the roots of problems and suggesting basic reforms, such as the reorganization of land tenure patterns as the first step toward improved agricultural production, or government pressure on recalcitrant landowners to carry out sanitation measures. So scanty are the tangible results of scores of survey and advisory missions that more and more observers are urging the addition or substitution of directing or operating missions to stay on until execution is well under way.

So far as the administration of the exchange programs goes,

particularly under the Smith-Mundt Act and Point Four legislation, there are two tasks to be faced: developing efficient administrative procedures, and finding on both sides of the ocean the proper people to exchange.

Administration is a major consideration when it involves at least 26 U. S. Government agencies, not to mention the agency divisions, or the foreign governments and their agencies. Only the closest coordination can make effective use of funds and provide an efficient system of processing personnel. In some cases, the percentage of administrative cost is high; in others, the American officials concerned labor overtime under mountains of paper work. Aid may lie in fewer committee meetings, fewer initials, and the streamlining of a mass of administrative regulations accumulated in the last 50 years.¹⁰

The allocation of funds is a thorny and delicate administrative matter. The needs and opportunities are so tremendous in relation to the funds available that the process of allocating the small monies to be requested from Congress requires continuous inter-agency discussion. The task is rather like allocating the five loaves and two fishes — without the power to create miracles.

In assigning personnel the problem is to find or, if necessary, train Americans qualified for service abroad — both those prepared to work anywhere and those trained in the customs and problems of a particular area. In the first place, there is a shortage of experts in many fields, even for U. S. Government service, since private industry often bids up the few available. For example, there are only a dozen or so top tropical medicine doctors in the United States. Yet many governments, not only Middle Eastern, are calling for expert advice in this field. In the second place, more than professional knowledge is required. The expert must have sympathy, patience, a sense of humor and adaptability, for he will have to adjust to a totally new framework reflecting basic differences both philosophical and practical, in which he will be called upon to exercise his finest judgment,

¹⁰ A significant step might be a reorganization of the clearance procedure. Under the acts even a permanent civil servant of the highest standing has to await the results of a full FBI clearance, often a matter of months, before he can be trusted with the problems of another government.

compromising on the minor things and standing firm on the essentials. In the third place, not only the adviser but his family too must have a spark of the pioneering spirit. All these requisites plague private programs too and may prove a bar to the expansion of interchange and development programs to the level envisaged by enthusiastic Point Four supporters.

The ideal would be to develop within each agency special staffs for overseas assignments. Their careers of public service might be patterned on that of John Savage, now retired from the Bureau of Reclamation and consulting with Middle East governments in a private capacity, who is revered throughout Asia for his signal contributions to the design of irrigation and dam projects. The corollary of the selection and training of American personnel is the selection process in the Middle East. This is certainly a field in which the United States, as the country offering the training, should have a say. Not only can we best evaluate a candidate in relation to the problems he will face in the American scene, but we can help avoid the very practical pitfalls of selection by wealth or prestige or political poll.

A Middle East engineer has suggested that field experience in the home country be a requisite for foreign training — not only to enhance the value of the foreign training but also to provide a lure to the essential field work otherwise so distasteful to the city-bred and city-trained young effendi. Certainly special conditions should be attached to foreign training, and experience in addition to education might well be one of these. A working knowledge of English would appear to be an obvious requirement if the most is to be made both of the trainees' time and that of the Americans helping him. But even such a self-evident requirement as this is still often honored in the breach. Finally, a specific project for each trainee is necessary — and concentrated in as few places as possible so that the training period does not deteriorate into an expertly conducted tour.

To the Middle East in particular, this governmental exchange program is especially important. The Middle East governments are starting, not from scratch, but many steps behind scratch. The early builders of the United States, reformers at

best, nonconformists at least, could start from scratch, freed of the social patterns from which they fled. Their spiritual brothers and sisters in the Middle East have no such opportunity. Within and outside the governments, they must labor for reform and development against soul-searing obstacles. In that labor they need help — moral, educational, technical, and financial. Because the number of these pioneers is small and their potentialities in a private capacity limited, it is the governments on which the major responsibility for the progress of the countries falls. So it is the U. S. Government which can best help the Middle East governments to carry out that responsibility, working through several channels — among them this interchange of experts. This program, coordinated with others both American and international, should contribute to the stability and advance of these countries at a time when immediate threats to them are eventual threats to us.

RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS IN MOROCCAN POLITICS

F. S. Vidal

(For a map of the Administrative Territories and tribal distribution of Spanish Morocco, see facing page 395.)

MOROCCO, due perhaps to its marginal location or to Western European influence, has only of late entered the general picture of present-day Islam. But it is now very much concerned with the rising nationalisms which characterize the Muslim states, to the growing uneasiness of the protecting nations. A peculiar facet of Moroccan politics, one of considerable potential but liable to be overlooked by the outsider, is the role played by the Muslim religious brotherhoods.¹

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE BROTHERHOODS

A Brotherhood is a group of men (some admit women) who are bound together by strict obedience to its Founder or his recognized successors, and who follow their mystic doctrines and religious, social, and political rules. It is impossible here to outline the institution's origin and characteristic organization except in the broadest sense and subject to numerous qualifications. The first Brotherhoods appeared in Morocco during the Malikite-Kharijite wars (8th-9th centuries) in the form of military orders, but it was not until the spread of Sufism that they began to take their present form. The differentiation of Sufi (mystic) schools came about, in part, when Muslim thinkers, after accepting the possibility of mystic identification with the Deity,

¹ The division into French, Spanish and Tangier Zones being artificial, many general statements in this article apply — unless otherwise stated — to the whole area. However, specific cases are drawn only from the Spanish Zone.

♦ F. S. VIDAL served from 1940 to 1947 as Tribal Administrator of the Spanish Service of Native Affairs in Morocco, being in charge of the tribe of Beni It-teft in the Riff. He is presently at work on a comparative study of the Native Administration system in Morocco and the United States Indian Service.

tried to determine how many steps were necessary to reach it, and which were the practices (the "Way") to be followed. The word *tariqah* (way) is now used for Brotherhood.

In Morocco, a Brotherhood's doctrine generally contains the following elements: 1. Sunni orthodoxy. 2. Malikite ritual and legal interpretation. 3. Survivals of the Kharijite heresy. 4. Interpretations of a Sufi teacher. 5. Pre-Islamic pagan beliefs, plus occasional Judeo-Christian survivals. A Brotherhood is more or less orthodox according to which of these aspects is preeminent.²

The religious picture in Morocco is further complicated by two other main components: *sherifism* and *maraboutism*. A *sherif* (pl. *shorfa*) is a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed through Fatma and Ali. A *marabout* (*m'rabet*, saint) is a religious person famous for his holiness, an intermediary between God and man — and therefore very un-Koranic. All these elements are so important that since the 9th century the social and political history of Morocco is little more than the history of its Brotherhoods, saints, and *shorfa* families.

These three institutions are usually interrelated. A saint may or may not be a *sherif*, and it is irrelevant whether or not he belongs to a Brotherhood. To be a saint one only needs a special amount of *baraka* (divine power or blessing).³ A *sherif*, however, is almost always a saint, since because of his lineage he automatically inherits his *baraka*, but he may or may not be a Brotherhood member. In Morocco, however, some Brotherhoods carry so much prestige that there is a great deal of social pressure on members of prominent families, saints or *shorfa*, to enroll in one, and nearly everyone does.

The germ cell of a Brotherhood is a *zawiya* (corner), which can range from a small meeting house to a complex of mosque, hostel, school, and tombs of saints. Its founder, after having learned from some Sufi teacher and obtained part of his *baraka*, goes out to proselytize and eventually build a small *zawiya*, where he will one day be buried. He may gather followers, en-

² They are often quite unorthodox. Some Sufis, without believing in the divinity of Christ, put him above Mohammed because of his holiness and virtues.

³ *Baraka* can be a direct gift from God, but also inherited by blood or transmitted by a teacher or friend, both at death or during lifetime. Bad behavior causes loss of *baraka*.

large the *zawiya*, increase his wealth and prestige — even to the point of being considered a saint while still living — and ultimately develop his own Sufi interpretation and a new Brotherhood. His disciples begin founding other *zawiyas*; some of these may one day become attached to another Brotherhood, dropping allegiance to the first, or they may lose members and disappear, or even develop their own rule, becoming mother-*zawiyas* of another Brotherhood.

Every Brotherhood is hierarchically organized. There is a *sheikh*, one or several *khalifat*, a few *mokaddemin* (sing.: *mokaddem*), and the mass of *ikhwan*.

The *sheikh*, successor to the Founder, is the spiritual and temporal leader possessing much *baraka*. He does not recognize any ruler above him, since he is chosen by God who inspired the previous *sheikh* to make the appointment. His only thoughts are of divine origin, therefore his power over the *ikhwan* is unlimited.

The *khalifa*, who lives with the *sheikh*, is the latter's right hand and *sheikh in absentia*. There may be other *khalifat* as territorial leaders in the case of a widely spread organization. They are chosen by the *sheikh*, usually out of his immediate entourage. Very often, when the *sheikh* does not want to endanger his religious prestige and lose *baraka*, the *khalifa* is put in charge of the Brotherhood's political and social activities.

The *mokaddem* is head of a local *zawiya*, interpreter of the *sheikh's* orders, and the Brotherhood's true missionary; he organizes every wordly activity and keeps in close contact with the followers. Some Brotherhoods have also a visiting *mokaddem* who travels around once a year, or more often, to bring new orders and the blessings of the *sheikh*, and to collect the *ziara* (yearly contribution in money or kind).

The *ikhwan* (or *fokara*, brothers) are the mass of followers. The title is acquired by everyone who gets the order's rosary, after making application to the *sheikh* (directly or through a *mokaddem*) and passing the various entrance requirements. Ceremonial permission to use the title is usually given by the *sheikh*, although he sometimes delegates this privilege to the

mokaddemin. Upon entering, Brothers are supposed to pay an amount proportionate to their means, as a present to the sheikh, or both to him and the *mokaddem*, if they are admitted through delegation. In Morocco this payment is often made in kind: goats, sheep, cows, barley, or wheat. The Brother also pledges a contribution to the *ziara*. In return he may get a token present from the sheikh, or an invitation to a meal, or just a parting hand-shake. Thereafter, the Brother must owe strict obedience to the sheikh and his *mokaddemin*, report when called upon, and follow the Brotherhood's rules.

Rules refer to religious beliefs and ritual as well as social behavior. The most important part of the regulations is the special prayer, the *dhikr*, which varies in each Brotherhood. Besides the usual obligations of the Muslim, and the prayer of the *dhikr*, a Brother is supposed to attend all the big meetings (*hadrah*, *mussem*, or *amara*), and contribute to the ordinary and extraordinary collections.

Brothers attend funerals and weddings of members, and generally owe each other more than the usual Koranic hospitality. In Morocco, the old Berber institution of mutual help at harvest time is now followed along Brotherhood membership lines. This is one of several cases that illustrate the way in which Berber institutions have modified Moroccan Islam.⁴

Most of the commandments which the new Brother gets are the same for all members, but some are given by the *mokaddem* separately to each. One Brother may be instructed to watch and check up on another; more usually he is told to pray an extra verse of the Koran, visit a certain tomb, make a special gesture, or join such and such a group. These orders are top secret and the Brother cannot tell about them, even to another member — a very significant feature, in case of a political fight.⁵

It is not known exactly how many Brotherhoods have existed in Morocco. Today it is reckoned that there are some 25 to 30, counting small groups organized in the way of professional

⁴ Another Berber influence is the use by some Brotherhoods of the solar calendar, instead of the Arab-Muslim lunar one, to fix the dates of the *amaras*.

⁵ Over a long stay in the country the writer has only been able to know about the existence of these secret individual orders, but he has failed in the attempt to secure even one specific example.

guilds or clubs. Spanish statistics list 17 which are considered the most important. They include all sorts: politically active and growing, like the Aliwa; inactive, like the Qadiriya; disappearing, like the Karsassiya; aristocratic, like the Tijanniya; or middleclass, like the Derkawa. Some are very rich and politically prominent, like the Wazzaniya; others are poor but colorful, like the Aissawa. Four may be selected for discussion as roughly representative: the Nassiriya, the Tijanniya, the Derkawa, and the Aliwa.

EXAMPLES OF PARTICULAR BROTHERHOODS

Nassiriya. Founded in Tamghrut (Draa) in the 17th century, this Brotherhood spread very quickly. It is quite orthodox and has a strong missionary spirit. The leaders have had prolific families, and their members have spread in all directions founding *zawiyas*. The Nassiriya went in for agriculture and trade with the Sudan on a large scale, gathering enormous riches and prestige, which in turn increased its membership. In 1684, when Ali ben Abdullah er-Riffi took Tangier from the British, he and his whole army belonged to this Brotherhood. Today, membership is made up of better class people, including some prominent Nationalists (members of the Moroccan independence movement). Some of the *mokaddemin* of the *zawiyas* also hold governmental positions. The Nassiriya asks very few things of its members and even permits them to belong to other Brotherhoods. It is not obligatory to carry the rosary all the time, and the *dhikr* is very simple.

When it was founded, the Brotherhood did not enter into an open fight against the Sultan, but it did oppose radically the abuse of authority by the Central Government,⁶ to the point of refusing to include the Sultan's name in the Friday prayers. Peace was made later: one of the sheikhs was confirmed by the Sultan, and in 1908 Mulay Hafid asked the *tariqah's* help in his fight for the throne.

As yet, the Nassiris do not seem to have entered modern politics as a group, with the exception of the Ikhemlijen clan in the

⁶ In this article, "Government," or "Makhzen," refers to native institutions. Spanish or French agencies are called "Administration."

Rif, which played an important part during the rebellion of the 1920's, being first attached to Raisuli but later turning to Abd-el-Krim. The Ikhemlijen, with the Nassiris of Jennanat (tribe of Beni Bu Frah) and Bu-Sdain, are probably the groups of greatest religious repute in the Eastern territories. As a rule, the Spanish Administration is favorably disposed toward this Brotherhood, since it seems to be friendly to the Government; it favored enlistment during the Spanish Civil War, has provided trustworthy informants, and has declared itself to be against Nationalism.⁷ For all these reasons, and because of the primarily religious interest of the Nassiris, the Administration does not consider them to be possible political enemies.

However, the Nassiris are a very rich and very tightly organized group, and are on good terms with the Tijanniya and the Derkawa. These facts, added to their large membership, make it possible for them to develop almost overnight into a political power of the first class.

The Hanssaliya and Amhaushiya, who developed from the Nassiriya, have lately become attached to the Derkawa.

Tijanniya. This Brotherhood originated in Algeria in 1781. Its founder, Ahmed Tijanni, was a member of several Brotherhoods in succession until he finally had a vision in which the Prophet ordered him to abandon previous teachings and become his direct *khalifa* on earth. The Tijanniya are very tolerant in religious matters, having an abbreviated prayer form for those who have little time—or are illiterate and have to trust their memory. Members call each other "Friend," instead of "Brother," but, in apparent contradiction, are bound together by oath and have the most exaggerated sense of solidarity.

Created after a period that had seen a lot of Brotherhoods entering local politics, the Tijanniya declared it did not believe in political activities, but that it ought to be strictly obedient to

⁷ The use of the term "Nationalism" here needs explanation. As a tendency toward, and a longing for the termination of the Protectorates and establishment of complete independence, "Nationalism" is present in all strata of Moroccan society, the Brotherhoods included. In this paper, however, the term "Nationalism" is used exclusively with reference to the political organizations (Nationalist Parties) that have so far crystallized. In this sense there has been up to the present a clear difference of opinion between the Brotherhoods and these specific political groupings. Nationalism, in these pages, is not a political ideology, but a political organization.

the Government. This of course favored the Sultan, and Mulay Suleiman (1795-1822) helped the Brotherhood in many ways. The Brotherhood grew considerably in a very short time, recruiting most of its members from the aristocratic groups. Despite the Brotherhood's original declaration, a few Tijanni were politically active, and the whole Brotherhood soon acquired a shade of political interest.

The Algerian Abd-el-Kadher, after he had failed in trying to win over the favor of the Tijannis, unwisely attacked and destroyed their *zawiya*; this automatically drove them to the side of the French, who protected them. Ever since, the Tijannis have maintained good relations with the French administration; this has prevented them from becoming too much attached to dissident groups and has turned them into a handy instrument of government in some French territories.

Similar to the situation in the French Zone, membership in the Spanish Protectorate is made up especially of governmental authorities (some of them very powerful, as the late Great Wazir), men of science, and big merchants. The present leader of Tetuan's group of Tijannis is in governmental employ as a *kadhi* (judge). His work, both official and religious, is hampered by his poor health and his need to take frequent and long vacations. This may be the reason why there is a general lack of enthusiasm amongst his followers. He is not very active politically, but has Nationalist sympathies and lately became a member of the Reform Party, a Nationalist organization.

Another very important member of this Brotherhood is Si Mohammed Melali, Pasha of El-Ksar el-Kbir, who is probably one of the greatest Moroccan politicians, and a person of immense prestige, power, and riches in the Western area. Apparently he is not an active member of any political party, though he has helped Nationalism financially, probably because he wants to have some control over it in case of its success. It is perhaps also politically significant that visiting Algerian *shorfa* of the Brotherhood are always entertained at the Melali's palace.

The F'kih 'Rhoni in Tetuan is also a Tijanni. He is a prominent person: former Minister of Justice, Supervisor of Muslim

Education, and lately Chairman of the Superior Council of Muslim Education. He is believed by the Administration to be in continual contact with native authorities of the French Zone, and is a very active member of the Reform Party.

For all these reasons, even though the dogma of the Brotherhood as such contains no political item, the Administrations of both Zones watch their activities very closely. If the individual political enterprizes of some members were to be transferred to the Brotherhood as a group, the results would be serious.

Derkawa. Although the first teacher of this *tariqah*, Abul Hasan el-Fasi (c. 1728-1785), made some 1000 converts, its real founder was Mulay el-Arbi (1760-1823), who in a short time gathered about 40,000 followers. The Derkawis wear a characteristic headdress and usually carry a staff. Their doctrines emphasize ascetic practices⁸ and lay considerable stress on blind obedience to the sheikh, in whose hands they have to be "like corpses in the hands of the washers of the dead."⁹

This Brotherhood has been extraordinarily active in political life and is famed for its perpetual opposition to any ruling power. Mulay el-Arbi antagonized the Makhzen, accusing it of religious indifference and friendliness toward strangers. The Sultan imprisoned him and threw him to the lions. But the lions did not harm him, and after his release he predicted the Sultan's death. Since this happened shortly after, el-Arbi's prestige, as well as that of his *tariqah*, was definitely established.

The history of the Derkawa is full of violent fighting, both against native governments and foreign agencies. Mohammed ben Ali Derkawi preached a Holy War against the Turks; Ben Aresh, another Derkawi, defeated Osman's army in Constantine (1808). During the reign of Mulay Suleiman the Derkawis were in permanent rebellion. The *zawiya* of Tafilalt became a place of refuge for rebels, and was never put under government control. This Brotherhood was also the one that most bitterly opposed the establishment of the Protectorates, and fought against the founding of Christian missions.

⁸ For a curious comparison between the Derkawis and the Franciscans, see Luis Oleaga, O.F.M., *Mauritania* (Tangier, 1930), p. 138.

⁹ On Derkawa rules, see L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan* (Algiers, 1884), p. 233.

Membership in the Derkawa has grown steadily, getting recruits from all classes of society, so that today, in spite of having lost a good number to the Aliwa, it is probably the largest Brotherhood in Morocco. In the Spanish Zone the Derkawis are most numerous in the cities and in the territory of Ghomara, with their center in the Beni Mansur tribe; but since their leader, Sherif Mohammed ben Seddik el-Ghomari, lives in Tangier, activity has increased in the North.

Two other facts make this Brotherhood important: it is highly centralized (depending from the *zawiya* of Bu Berrih) and maintains close contact with the Bedawiya of Egypt and the Madaniya of Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli. It has also representatives in Mekka and Medina.

The Derkawis have consistently followed their policy of governmental opposition in the Spanish Zone. When Tetuan was occupied in 1913, they declared a Holy War. From 1915 to 1919 the Brotherhood fought Raisuli, and during the 1919-1921 actions against him many Brothers joined the Spanish army. This was later considered to have been a political mistake, since the veteran Derkawis came back with increased power and influence, and used them against the Administration. Although definite proof is missing, it is generally believed that Abd-el-Krim belonged to the Derkawa, for the Brotherhood supported his war in Ghomara. Later on, however, failing to impose his authority, he persecuted it and shifted to the Aliwa. The Derkawis turned to the Government, and in 1925-26 helped it against the Riffian.

For some time after 1927 Spanish army intelligence succeeded in checking the power of the Derkawa by making communication between the Tangier and Ghomara groups difficult. This lasted until 1931, when Spain was proclaimed a Republic and most officials in Morocco, who were old hands in native affairs but political enemies of the new regime, were relieved. Their untrained substitutes did not understand the situation, so that cooperation between Tangier and Ghomara started again. In accordance with the belief of the new government that the Protectorate was nothing but a budgetary liability, Minister Prieto made a declaration in 1932 hinting at a possible early relinquish-

ment by Spain of all its North African obligations. In the same year two Derkawis staged the so-called Bab Tazza incident, an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion. This coincidence led some members of the Administration to believe that the incident had been organized by the French in order to speed up Spain's abandonment of Morocco. In these troubled waters, the importance of the Derkawa grew steadily between 1931 and 1936.

In July 1936 the Spanish Civil War broke out; the Protectorate was a good source of volunteers and therefore had to be kept politically quiet, if not happy. The new High Commissioner, Colonel Beigbeder, a first class Africanist of the old school, was just the man for the job. By deftly manipulating presents and promises to both the Ghomara and Tangier branches, he momentarily succeeded in minimizing the danger of Derkawa opposition to the call for volunteers. When it became apparent that the war would be long, this initial success had to be stabilized for the duration. The Administration knew that the Derkawis, being Moroccans in the first place, would gladly participate in any kind of war unless ordered to do otherwise. The only person who could issue those orders was the already mentioned Sidi Mohammed, usually referred to as the Sherif Derkawi, and the Administration had always (and from its viewpoint quite correctly) feared his political manoeuvres and considered him a potential enemy.

The Sherif is a very clever man, an extremely skillful gambler at politics. His prestige stems not only from being a sherif, but from his high religious education. Although many *shorfa*, *ulema*, or *fokara* have lost respect for him because of his attempts to modify Malikite ritual, his following is considerable. The Sherif's behavior, which in Western eyes looks very unfair, to put it mildly, does not contain any contradictions from his own point of view. He owes strict loyalty only to his Brotherhood, and has held to it under all sorts of trying circumstances. Carefully planning his moves, the Sherif has tried to get as much money as he could for himself and his followers, no matter from whence it came: French, Spaniards, or Spanish Loyalists. Since eventually each one of them discovered the play and withdrew

their help, the Sherif had to find new ways and means, and in the meantime — lacking support — he lost some prestige; but he always managed to get new backing and recoup himself.

To break the Sherif's contact with Spanish Loyalists, who might induce him not only to oppose the call for volunteers, but to create incidents within the Spanish Zone, the Administration devised a subterfuge: in 1937 he was asked — and he accepted — to go to Egypt as Ambassador Extraordinary of the Khalifa of the Spanish Zone. He was furnished with some homemade credentials and a generous allowance, and took off for Cairo. The Spanish Zone, however, being dependent from the Sultan in Fez, is not a sovereign country and cannot send ambassadors anywhere. This detail, familiar to the Administration but unknown to the Sherif, was brought out when he got to Cairo and his credentials were not recognized. Egyptian newspapers published the news and it was read by the Ghomara and Tangier Derkawis, with the result that their leader lost face and upon his return met with a less subservient group. Since then, hard work and persistent campaigning have helped him recover their esteem; but in the meantime the Administration had accomplished its purpose and a few Derkawis even joined the army. Besides, the Administration also scored a success in throwing the Ghomara-Tangier cooperation out of gear again.

At the outbreak of World War II the Derkawis declared in favor of Germany, and the Sherif wrote several letters to Hitler asking for liberty to proselytize in the Spanish Zone (which had been prohibited him), and *in second place* and by the way, for the independence of Morocco. Derkawi groups assembled in their *zawiyas* to comment on the course of the war and give thanks to God for having inspired Hitler to start a conflict in which so many thousands of Christians would die, a help to the ultimate triumph of Islam.

However, as soon as the Allied forces landed in Morocco, things changed. The Sherif got in touch with U. S. and British agents asking for U. S. citizenship, use of a personal seal, a house in Tangier, and authority to appoint his own representatives. In return he promised to serve the Allies. Before all this, however,

he had also got (as a contribution to his Brotherhood during one of his general collections) a certain (unreported) amount of money in French francs from consular officials in Tangier of the United States, England, Spain, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Japan!

It is not known exactly what kind of work the Sherif was supposed to do, although it seems to have been supplying information; and judging from the number of Derkawis passing between Ghomara and Tangier at that time, this was organized purely along Brotherhood lines. The Sherif's two immediate aides were the two most prominent Brothers in Tangier, who kept in touch with all territories. Contacts were also made with one of the most outspoken Nationalists (a Derkawi) to start a subversive movement in Tangier, then under Spanish control, which would bring in international action and cause Spain to leave. In all this, the Sherif was helped by a Makhzen official in Tetuan, who could supply important data, and who was also a Derkawi.

At the end of World War II the Sherif's political activities subsided, but he continued to make his typical contradictory statements. In October 1945, he publicly declared that he was happy that Spain had to go back to sharing Tangier according to the international treaty. During the next year, however, he and other Derkawis wrote to Franco complaining about the Tangier situation and asking Spain again to take over and dismiss the French. Later on, the Sherif visited Spain. The Brotherhood, fearing that this was an unwelcome political approach, asked him to report upon his return. He then stated that he would not be a friend of Spain, since its regime would soon die out. After the meeting, however, he sent a representative to the Spanish consular authorities to say that he was very satisfied with his trip, and that the state of things in Spain was politically much better than "enemy" propaganda stated.

In 1939, Nationalist leaders tried to approach the Derkawa, which they considered the most important Brotherhood. They soon discovered that in spite of its political interests, the Derkawis were still a religious group, and that its religious ideas were very Moroccan, i.e., very un-Koranic. Since the

Nationalists were trying to get the support of all Islam by being very orthodox, this attempt at cooperation had to be dropped. In 1943, the leader of the Moroccan Unity Party, El-Mekki el-Nassiri, attacked the leader of Tetuan's Derkawa group for having published some articles in which he mentioned Spain's benevolent policies in religious matters. This, El-Mekki said, made their own policies to try to cooperate with the Brotherhoods very difficult.

In 1947 the popular protest in Tangier against the spring riots in French Morocco was organized by the Derkawa: the significance of this fact is not yet clear.

From this lengthy exposé it is apparent that, due to the unpredictability of the Sherif's behavior more than to the Brotherhood's rules, neither of the protecting nations (nor other countries) is happy about Derkawa activities, but view the Brotherhood as a potential danger to be constantly watched and undermined if possible. This feeling is shared by the Nationalists.

Aliwa. The Aliwa Brotherhood was founded in Mostaganem (Algeria) in 1913 by Ahmed ben Mustafa ben Aliwa, former Derkawi and shoemaker who was also a prominent theologian. He advocated a return to old Derkawa purity, introducing minor ritual modifications.

Proselytizing was done first among members of other Brotherhoods, especially the Derkawa, and this work had a definitely modern slant. Trips were encouraged and facilitated, and the big yearly *amaras*, maintaining their religious significance, took on an air of fiesta. Announcements of these meetings were not only made by word of mouth and personal letters, as of old, but were also inserted in the newspapers. Later on, special invitations were printed and circulated; still later, the Aliwa had its own printing press and started putting out a newspaper. One of the first publications was a *Guide Pratique du Musulman*, which included the Aliwa's program of action:

1. To make Muslims understand their religious obligations.
2. To work toward the disappearance of prejudice between Christians and Muslims, who have been called to live and work together. But, in return, Christians would have to abandon belief in a Trinity.

3. To make Europeans understand Islam.
4. To assist, morally and materially, all Muslims in foreign countries.
5. To put themselves at the service of the Government to foster a policy of moral and intellectual, as well as material, betterment of Muslims.

The Aliwa went beyond the Maghreb's borders and succeeded in founding two (now five) *zawiyas* in France, in Paris and Douai, to take care of the needs of Muslim workers. One of the big achievements of the Sheikh was to appoint such excellent *mokaddemin* that some Europeans in the heart of Paris were converted to Islam. The *mokaddem* of Paris also successfully combatted communist propaganda among his parishioners.

The rapid spread of the Aliwa in French territory, the travel facilities afforded them by French authorities, the presence of French observers in the Mostaganem conventions (where they could easily get a quick picture of the North African political situation), the fact that the Aliwa seemed not to oppose European colonists in Algeria, and the French respect for the Sheikh — all these led not only a part of the Spanish Administration, but also a very great number of Muslims, to believe that the Aliwa was of French creation, intended to break the power of the xenophobic Derkawis; and that the French were repeating their move of using a Brotherhood for their political purposes (as they had previously done with the Wazzanis).

Be that as it may, it remains a fact that the Aliwa kept governmental favor in French territories the longest, and most members did come from the Derkawa. The present Aliwa *mokaddem* in Tangier not only was a Derkawi, but even a relative of the Sherif. One Derkawi *zawiya*, seeing that it was losing all membership to the Aliwa, went so far as to buy an upright piano to enliven its religious meetings!

In the Spanish Zone the first members of the Aliwa were of the lower classes — mostly seasonal workers from the Eastern area who harvested Algerian crops. It spread so quickly in the Kert that by 1932 it was reckoned that three fourths of the Galiya were members.¹⁰

The Aliwas have been interested in politics right from the beginning. Just as Ahmed's teacher had taken part in the rebel-

¹⁰ The non-Riffian part of the Kert.

lion against Mulay Hassan (1873-1894), Ahmed himself participated in the revolts against Sultan Abd el-Aziz (1894-1908). In 1920-1922, the Aliwa anti-Administration propaganda was most successful, resulting in many army desertions. Membership grew during the following years, and after the punishment of some crimes (murder of a tribal chief, for one) committed by Aliwis, the Administration undertook a campaign against them. The Brotherhood went into hiding, so that today it is increasingly difficult to report on their activities. The persecution was particularly marked in 1930-1933, and the Aliwa capitalized on it, saying that this was not a fight to destroy one Brotherhood, but the beginning of an attempt to eradicate Islam — that the next move would be to blacklist all Brotherhoods. After 1933 there was an attempt of the Aliwa to get closer to the Government in order to secure the membership of those whom the opposition had scared away. This policy lasted only a short while, but at the same time the persecution ended — at least overtly.

Sidi Ahmed died in 1934,¹¹ and was succeeded by El-Hajj Adda, a graduate from a French school and ex-sergeant in an Algerian regiment. The new Sheikh wanted to institute some reforms, increase internal discipline, and change the name of the Brotherhood to Addawiya. For these and other reasons, a secession movement arose in the Spanish Zone, calling itself "True Aliwa," headed by Mohammed ben el-Hajj Mohammed, *mokaddem* of the Eastern area. Sidi Mohammed had been *persona non grata*, having been in jail twice (1922-26 and 1927-30), but enjoyed much religious renown. During his leadership, he was very active especially in the Rif, to the point of being warmly mentioned in the Aliwa press.¹² Sidi Mohammed died in 1946, whereupon many secession members reverted to the old allegiance.

During World War II the Aliwa seem to have been consistently on the Allied side; some members supplied information to U. S. army intelligence; others, especially in France, helped

¹¹ On July 14th, giving those who are naturally suspicious additional evidence that he favored the French to the last!

¹² *Lizzan ed-Din*, (Mostaganem), No. 85, August 31, 1939.

the Free French with sabotage, so much so that in 1944 the German commander tried to put every Aliwa in prison.

Besides their opposition to the Spanish, the Aliwas of both zones are radically opposing Nationalism. In the Kert the *mokaddem* asked an oath of his Brothers not to mix with the movement. The *mokaddem* in Beni Urriaghel of the Rif forbade his Brothers to be members of the Reform Party, under the penalty of being thrown out of the Brotherhood. This repeatedly voiced attitude apparently indicates that a few members did belong to the Nationalists and were somehow trying to get the *tariqah* involved in the movement.

OVER-ALL SIGNIFICANCE

To the foregoing discussion some final generalizations may be added. Religious Brotherhoods are one of the most outstanding factors in Moroccan life. They have a prominent place in the country's economy: purchases made through a fellow Brother instead of a regular merchant, the unusually big markets that develop during most *amaras*, the cooperation during harvest, the professional specialization of some of the smaller Brotherhoods (now a declining phenomenon), are all important economic features. Socially, they provide meeting places and the much needed opportunity for entertainment and play. They foster solidarity, furnishing centers where ideas, opinions, and news are exchanged. Marriages between families of members are frequent. Many of the best rural schools are run by the Brotherhoods. Hospitality between Brothers also facilitates travel in the interior, which otherwise would be extremely uncomfortable.

From a religious point of view, any one *zawiya* is more important than most mosques. The Brotherhoods saved Koranic interpretation from diverging to the point of chaos by providing a series of nuclei of crystallization around which a few of the interpretative trends could become standardized. It may be argued that these nuclei were only a few because of Arab authoritarianism, or the low literacy of the population, and that as soon as this situation is remedied interpretations will multiply. The first objection may be answered by the fact that no Arab au-

thoritarianism has survived in Morocco without being democratized in Berber fashion. The second is a difficult point to prove, one way or the other, but taken all in all, it would not appear to be a determining factor.

Although excluding political manifestoes from their rules, most Brotherhoods have engaged in politics, their attitudes being substantially the same in both Zones. Here we can distinguish three successive stages. From their origin to the 19th century they were characterized by a decidedly warlike attitude, participating in the dynastic conflicts. The Saadites, for example, owed their power in the 16th and 17th centuries to the help of the Jazuliya, while the Dilaiya wanted to substitute a Berber chieftain. The peak of the Brotherhood's warlike activity coincided with the campaigns of Spaniards and Portuguese in the 15th and 16th centuries. During this first period, also, an attempt by the Sultans to minimize the Brotherhoods' importance by sponsoring the independent class of ulema failed because of the social pressure that made ulema join one Brotherhood or another.

The second stage covers approximately the whole of the 19th century. As the Sultanate became more stable, Brotherhoods either divorced themselves from politics or actively opposed any contact with the incoming European influence. In our present period, they have had to decide either to cooperate with, or oppose, the protecting nations; and since 1930 to establish their policy toward Nationalism.

There are, today, two general types of Brotherhoods: those that are professional guilds under a saint's protection, and those that are primarily religious. The former are not politically active. The latter may again be subdivided into an upper-class, sophisticated, more orthodox, Western, city type; and a lower-class, illiterate, unorthodox, Eastern, rural type.

The establishment of the Protectorate was favored by the Central Government (*makhzen*), which recognized in the new organization a means to increase its control of the permanently rebellious interior tribes; and the city businessmen, whose trade had been thwarted by those rebellions and who had suffered both from the unofficial robberies on the highways and the official

burden of an unorganized and arbitrary taxation. Muslims in each of these groups belong to Brotherhoods of the upper-class type. An impression has been created among anti-Administration Nationalists that these Brotherhoods are political collaborationists; it must be stressed, however, that this collaboration was — and is — individual rather than of the *tariqah* as a whole.

Again two groups opposed the Protectorate: the tightly knit gangs around feudal lords, who saw their medieval despotism vanishing; and the small middle class and large lower classes, who did not understand the reasons for a Protectorate and resented foreign intervention by definition, especially from Christians. Among the former, only the powerful Wazzani family is organized in a Brotherhood of its own, which — surprisingly enough — decided to cooperate with the Administration. As for the lower classes, they were divided into too many different Brotherhoods, all with poor leadership at the time, to offer any resistance. Since the establishment of the Protectorate, this initial general situation has not changed, with the exception that the lower classes have begun to favor the Derkawa and Aliwa.

The protecting nations — France and Spain — have never had the same attitudes toward the Brotherhoods. The former tried to win over their help, and reached an agreement with the Wazzanis. With their cooperation, the French penetration of the interior tribes, in particular of the Wergha valley, was very rapid and peaceful. Correspondingly, the Wazzani's prestige, already great, grew still more with this official sponsorship. The French have followed this policy consistently: playing one Brotherhood off against another in succession. As one grew too powerful, it would be replaced by a weaker substitute. In this way official favor passed from Tijannis to Wazzanis, to Derkawis, to Aliwis.

Fearing to become involved in such a tricky game as the French were playing, the Spaniards mistrusted all Brotherhoods from the beginning, and thought it unwise to favor any one. Occasionally Administration officers have used local *zawiyas* or individual members either as personal informants or as a means to promote some small-range policy on the tribal level. The over-

all policy of nonintervention, however, has been consistent. The French and Spanish have followed a common policy only when a Brotherhood took a challenging stand too vociferously and for too long. Both answered with deportations, the banning of propaganda, publications, and meetings, and with other methods euphemistically called "administrative measures."

Since 1939 in the Spanish Zone, and since 1945 in the French, the protecting nations have been puzzled by a particular fact: soldiers have started flocking to the Brotherhoods. In consequence, the Aliwa and Derkawa intensified their propaganda and membership applications multiplied. The Aliwa offered an explanation for this development: "The soldiers have realized that they need God." France and Spain took their usual stand of blaming each other's Intelligence; or possibly someone else's. This may have some justification since, as things stand now, the Aliwa and Derkawa leaders (and their friends) can have accurate information on more than half of the Moroccan troops.¹³ It is a difficult situation. Policy regulations demand that soldier members be given leave to attend Brotherhood meetings, especially because this is the only way to get their census. But then non-members want to go on leave too, and therefore join the Brotherhoods in increasing numbers, creating a vicious circle.

It is difficult to know what the relationship between the Brotherhoods and the Sultan is at the present time. As Muslims, the Brothers respect the Sultan for being a sherif and the leader of Moroccan Islam. But as Moroccans (especially the lower-class Brotherhoods of Berber warlike tradition), they consider him a weak instrument of the French. In 1946, the Sultan issued a *dahir* (order) assuming religious leadership of all organizations and enforcing some regulations. This action has been interpreted as an independent movement by the Sultan, to control French sponsorship of the Brotherhoods.¹⁴ An alternative ex-

¹³ This fact would appear to be another manifestation of a very complex and apparently world-wide phenomenon: a drive to go "back to the blanket," which members of the "lower" cultures have experienced after being in contact with ours, and which has also been reported for some groups of American Indian veterans returning to their reservations.

¹⁴ See Walter Cline, "Nationalism in Morocco," *Middle East Journal*, I (Jan. 1947), p. 28.

planation is that it may well be a French move to try to control — through the Sultan — those Brotherhoods that had grown out of hand. At any rate the Sultan does not fear the Brotherhoods, as his predecessors did, but considers them to be possible political allies in case he were to lead a war for independence.

The situation *vis à vis* the Nationalists appears to be much clearer. The Brotherhoods have consistently and uniformly opposed Nationalism, accusing it of being untraditional, un-Moroccan, and therefore un-National. For their part, the Nationalists have attacked the Brotherhoods' unorthodoxy and failed to win over their help. Since, so far, Nationalism has waved the flag of pan-Islamism, orthodoxy and Arab culture, it has been able to infiltrate some of the upper-class Brotherhoods. These, however, are not now politically powerful. Some Nationalists also entered lower-class Brotherhoods, but with no political benefit for the movement, as the case of the Aliwa has shown.

Moroccan Nationalism is still groping for a political platform, and predictions are difficult to make at this point. But it is fairly safe to assume that if Moroccan Nationalism is to reach a tenable position, it will have to be much closer to Moroccan traditionalism than to the pan-Islamic trend it has started out with. Once this stage is arrived at the Brotherhoods will probably enter the picture, and, with their added cohesion and prestige, the new nationalism will undoubtedly be an overwhelming political force.

PAKISTAN PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

V. S. Swaminathan

MESSRS. GANDHI and Jinnah, who presided at the birth of the Dominions of India and Pakistan, are no more. But during the more than three years which have elapsed since the partition of the Asiatic subcontinent it has become increasingly clear that if these two nascent states are to survive, let alone prosper, they must strive to live up to the ideals and messages of their founders. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi believed in a secular state. When he agreed to the partition of the subcontinent it was in the fervent hope that the two states would cooperate wholeheartedly on all matters of common concern. Mr. Jinnah was the apostle of the two nation theory, but with the settlement of the partition issue he opined that there was nothing to prevent the two nations from living as good neighbors.

Of the two states, Pakistan is the smaller in area, population, and resources. It is much less well-knit geographically than India, and began its independent existence amid the more appalling difficulties. Lacking a ready-made and smoothly running administrative machinery, it had to start from scratch. It is appropriate, therefore, that in the question of survival, Pakistan should receive the prior attention.

GEOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTER OF PAKISTAN

Covering an area of nearly 360,000 square miles, and containing a population now close to 80 million, Pakistan is easily

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the world's premier Islamic dominion from the standpoint of material and human resources. (See Table I.) The geographical layout of Pakistan in two great blocks, separated by nearly 1,000 miles of Indian territory, is certainly out of the ordinary. To complicate the geographical picture is the very serious inequality between the constituent parts, East Pakistan having only 15 percent of the area of the Dominion but three-fifths of its total population. East Pakistan is an enclave in India with negligible military resources of its own. It has a substantial minority element of Hindus numbering approximately 10.5 million. It is only barely self-sufficient in food, having to choose between the conflicting claims of paddy and jute in making the best use of the limited land available. East Pakistan is dangerously dependent on one cash crop, namely jute, whose output fluctuates with seasonal variations and whose prices are dictated by world demand. Much of the fluid and taxable wealth of Bengal, never a very healthy province financially, is concentrated on the Hooghly side and in Calcutta, i.e. in present-day India. It will, therefore, take some years before East Pakistan becomes an over-all economic asset to the Islamic dominion even though it is the source of Pakistan's two leading export staples (jute and tea) and the principal provider of its foreign exchange.

West Pakistan has a military tradition, but it is also strategically vulnerable, the more so should Kashmir become part of the Indian Republic and relations with Afghanistan deteriorate. Following the mass migration of some 4 million Hindus and Sikhs in 1947-48, this compact region has become largely homo-

Table I. ESTIMATED AREA, POPULATION, AND POPULATION DENSITY OF PAKISTAN:

	Area (square miles)	Population	
		(in millions, 1948 estimate)	Density (per square mile in 1948)
East Pakistan	53,920	46.72	870.0
West Pakistan	306,860	33.54	109.3
Total	360,780	80.26	222.4

geneous in population. West Pakistan (Punjab and Sind) was before partition the only large area of India with a handsome surplus of food grains (wheat and rice). Its cattle population does not bear heavily on the land as in India, and the greater per capita consumption of milk and meat is reflected in the sturdy physique of the population. For all practical purposes, Punjab is fiscally the most prosperous part of Pakistan. But its administrative machinery, business structure, and material resources were strained to the utmost by the economic dislocation and the burden of the refugees following partition.

PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Constitutionally, Pakistan is a federation, consisting of the provinces of East Bengal, the West Punjab, the North West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan and the States that have acceded to it. In the distribution of powers between the federal center and the provinces the latter generally enjoy a substantial measure of autonomy. In respect of the acceding States, the federal government and legislature are concerned only with foreign affairs, defense, and communications. The federal executive consists of a cabinet of ministers, appointed by the Governor-General from amongst the members of the legislature, and answerable to it. The Pakistan Constituent Assembly, created primarily for framing a Constitution for the country, is also the federal legislature of Pakistan. Its members were elected by the Legislative Assemblies of the provinces on the basis of one member for every million inhabitants. As a legislature the Pakistan Assembly has unlimited power to make, modify, add to, or repeal the federal laws of Pakistan. The federal budget has to be passed, and all proposals for federal taxation sanctioned by the Assembly, whose members have also the right to ask questions and move resolutions about all matters relating to the policies of the federal government and the administration of its various departments. In the provinces the executive consists of the Governor and a Council of Ministers, who are members of, and responsible to, the provincial Legislative Assembly, which has full authority in respect of provincial laws, taxation, and

expenditure. Its members, who are elected by territorial constituencies, have the right of asking questions and moving resolutions regarding the policies and the administration of the government of the province. The system outlined above is based upon that which prevailed in India before partition, adopted with some modification for Pakistan. It is a transitory arrangement, to be replaced by the Constitution now being drawn up by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

In March 1949 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan moved the important "Objectives Resolution" in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The preamble recognized the sovereignty of God as the fountain of all authority to be exercised by the State through the people. The resolution envisaged a sovereign, independent State, exercising its powers and authority through chosen representatives of the people, in which the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, and social justice as taught by Islam will be observed, and where Muslims may live their lives in accordance with Islamic teaching. It also assures minorities the right to practice their faiths and develop their cultures and safeguard their legitimate interests, and in general it guarantees the fundamental rights of man. In the meantime the drafting of the new Constitution continues at a snail's pace, the various committees and sub-committees holding desultory sessions. Little sustained effort to get the job done is in evidence. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, former Prime Minister of undivided Bengal and by far the most important politician outside the ranks of the Muslim League, has accused the Pakistan Government of deliberately going slow to keep themselves in power. General elections cannot, of course, be held until the new Constitution is passed by the Constituent Assembly.

The Dominion of Pakistan suffers from two major handicaps: first, lack of trained administrators, industrial managers, technicians, and skilled workers generally; and second, the prevalence of administrative corruption. In 1949 Mr. M. A. Khuhro, formerly Prime Minister of Sind, was disqualified from holding public office for three years. In Punjab (West Pakistan) the Khan of Mamdot is facing an inquiry on serious charges of mis-

appropriation of public funds. A trial of strength between the Central Cabinet and the Mamdot faction is in prospect, and the inquiry is now proceeding in the Lahore High Court. The Khan is the third provincial Prime Minister in the first two years of Pakistan's existence against whom proceedings have started, a sad commentary on the calibre of provincial politicians. It is to the credit of the Central Government that it is determined to put down corruption at all costs.

The weakening of the administration is not unconnected with the large-scale exodus of British officers. It comes at a time when the course of the country's foreign affairs is running far from smoothly. The decision to speed up "Pakistanization" without in many cases waiting for service contracts to expire is dictated by internal politics. Mr. Jinnah, architect of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, was quick to appreciate the importance of retaining as many experienced British administrators as possible during the difficult transition period. His authority and prestige sufficed to silence uninformed critics who were clamoring for the wholesale elimination of the foreign element from the services and replacing it by local talent. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, in his anxiety to maintain his position and at the same time secure support for the policies of the Central Government, lacking the stature of Jinnah, has had to compromise. While this naturally gave great satisfaction to his followers and supporters in the various provinces, the quality — efficiency and integrity — of administration has inevitably suffered.

Furthermore, the Pakistan Central Government is not infrequently finding the provinces an unruly team to drive. Differences have been accentuated by its assumption of control over the development of important industries, and by its sponsorship of agrarian reforms which are unwelcome to Sind and West Punjab. The Agrarian Reforms Committee, appointed by the Pakistan Muslim League Council, in addition to recommending the abolition of hereditary Jagirs (assignments of land revenues), has proposed that undivided holdings be limited to 150 acres of irrigated and 450 acres of nonirrigated land, of which not more than 25 acres can be cultivated by the landlord himself. The people of Sind are disturbed because the Center has taken

over Karachi and its port, thus removing the most obvious source of additional income and depressing the financial prospects of the province. East Pakistan for centuries suffered from absentee landlordism. Here the Provincial Government sponsored a State Acquisition and Tenancy Bill which has passed through the Select Committee stage. The Bill provides that rent receiving interests in all lands be acquired by the Government, compensation being paid on a sliding scale.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Pakistan produces several valuable primary commodities — jute, cotton, wool, hides and skins, wheat, rice, and tea — with markets beyond its borders. During the year from April 1, 1948, to March 31, 1949, its exports of jute were valued at Rs. 1,096 million;¹ cotton, Rs. 379.6 million; wool, Rs. 33.5 million; hides and skins, Rs. 53 million; and tea, Rs. 37.5 million. Pakistan is exceptionally strong in fibres — of undivided India, East (Pakistani) Bengal had nearly 80 percent of the jute acreage and output, while West Pakistan had 20 percent of the cotton acreage, and 33 percent of cotton production, and that in the largely medium to long staple American varieties. The picture is less bright when one turns to industrial prospects. Textile raw materials are in themselves only half the basis even for the lighter industries. There is not a single jute mill in East Pakistan. In Pakistan as a whole are only 19 of 872 cotton mills of undivided India.

The new state's mineral and power position is weak. Its petroleum production of some 572,000 barrels a year (an amount falling far short of domestic needs) comes from the Attock oil-field. On the basis of recommendations made by the Powell Duffryn Technical Service (London), West Pakistan has formulated a 10-year plan to treble present coal production. The country's workable reserves are estimated at 165 million tons; current annual output amounts to 420,000 tons and consumption to 2,160,000 tons. West Pakistan's maximum yearly coal requirements are computed at 3,500,000 tons with minimum needs

¹ One Pakistani rupee equals approximately 29.85 cents. One million rupees, therefore, equal approximately \$298,500.

at 2,500,000 tons. Recommendations made by the British firm of consultants to step up coal production include rationalisation of mining leases, improvement of communications, power, mining methods, labor and welfare, and the establishment of a mining survey and fuel research institute. Pakistan proposes giving effect to a majority of these recommendations. Salt from the Punjab salt range, and from solar evaporation of sea water in Sind, is abundant. Baluchistan has workable deposits of chrome and sulphur. Otherwise Pakistan is singularly poor in minerals and metals, especially iron, base metal and ferro-alloy elements, and useful non-metallics. The mountainous parts of the Punjab with the best sites for hydroelectric development have gone to India, although the North West Frontier Province has some promising sites, as at Malakand.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Under the circumstances, Pakistan's success in presenting a balanced central budget for the first full year (1948-49) was an achievement confounding critics who held that the country lacked revenue resources and therefore would not be economically viable. The second and third central budgets convinced them of Pakistan's economic strength. (See Table II.)

Pakistan's onerous defense outlay leaves little surplus for constructive development projects. The ratio of defense to total budgeted expenditure under revenue heads was 51.6 percent in 1947-48, 42.3 percent in 1948-49, 44.7 percent in 1949-50, and 43.2 percent for the current financial year. In the 1950-51 budget, economic development gets only 4.5 percent; industry 3.5 percent, and agriculture 1 percent. The settlement of the Kashmir dispute cannot fail to reduce this fruitless defense outlay, and so release substantial sums for nation-building activities. Nevertheless, the Finance Minister of Pakistan may well have to look for other sources of revenue once trading conditions return to normal, for the country's primary commodities may not always fetch the same high prices they do now. Again, the influx of imports has produced a windfall in customs duty which may not be repeated.

The financial situation in the several provinces of Pakistan is less reassuring. The East Bengal budget for 1950-51 shows a deficit of Rs. 17.3 million on revenue account; estimated receipts total Rs. 179.3 million against an expenditure of 196.6 millions. Revised 1949-50 figures reveal a deficit of Rs. 31.3 million instead of an anticipated surplus of a like amount. The current year's budget for West Punjab gives an estimated income of Rs. 196.2 million and expenditure of Rs. 186 million. Revised 1949-50 figures show a surplus of Rs. 17.7 million. In Sind, whereas the estimated revenue for 1950-51 totals Rs. 67 million, expenditure amounts to Rs. 73.2 million, leaving a deficit of Rs. 6.2 million. For the North West Frontier Province, the estimated revenue for the current financial year is Rs. 40.9 million and expenditure Rs. 42.5 million, indicating a deficit of Rs. 1.6 million.

Pakistan achieved the goal of complete financial and currency autonomy with the setting up of the State Bank on July 1, 1948. The offices of the Reserve Bank of India at Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca were then taken over by the Pakistan State Bank,

Table II. PAKISTAN'S CENTRAL BUDGET

(in Rs. million)

	<i>Aug. 15, 1947 to Mar. 31, 1948</i>	<i>1948-49</i>		<i>1949-50</i>		<i>1950-51</i>
		Est.	Rev.	Est.	Rev.	Est.
<i>Gross Revenue</i>						
Principal heads....	173.7	312.0	470.0	554.3	595.5	573.8
Railways, posts & telegraphs	201.0	368.9	376.5	390.5	413.5	424.4
Other heads	53.2	114.8	109.9	137.1	129.8	138.2
Total	427.9	795.7	956.4	1,081.9	1,138.8	1,136.4
<i>Gross Expenditure</i>						
Defense	342.4	371.1	402.8	472.2	509.0	500.0
Railways, posts & telegraphs	221.5	371.5	368.9	379.0	384.0	383.4
Other heads	98.1	154.2	180.4	280.8	243.5	272.0
Total	662.0	896.8	952.1	1,072.0	1,136.5	1,155.4
Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	— 234.1	— 101.1	+ 4.3	+ 9.9	+ 2.3	— 19 (a)

(a) With additional receipts of Rs. 20 million from new taxes this deficit becomes a surplus of one million rupees.

which also assumed charge of Government receipts and disbursements conducted at the Karachi office of the Reserve Bank. During the first year of operation it made a net profit of Rs. 10,211,876, of which Rs. 1,200,000 was paid to shareholders as dividend at 4 percent per annum, and the balance transferred to the Government of Pakistan. The first report of the Central Board of Directors of the State Bank for the year ending June 1949 contained the observation of general interest that "the future economic stability and progress of Pakistan depends on the existence of an efficient administrative machinery free from the corrosive influence of corruption." During the greater part of 1949 the country's money market remained easy. Totals of deposits held and advances outstanding of the Scheduled Banks in Pakistan increased by Rs. 55 million and Rs. 25 million respectively, and their cash balances with the State Bank by nearly Rs. 70 million. Early in 1950 Pakistan was elected a member of the International Monetary Fund.

Under the Anglo-Pakistan financial agreement of June 1949, for the twelve months ending June 1950 Pakistan was able to draw £12 million from its sterling balances as against £5 million in 1948-49. As during the previous year, it was entitled to draw an additional £5 million from its balance for imports for the resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees. The extra £7 million release was based on the general consideration of Pakistan's economy to enable it to get over the pangs of partition.

The question presented to Delhi and Karachi by the devaluation of the pound sterling in September 1949 evoked different reactions. Devaluation would yield Pakistan no more dollars than its exports were already fetching since it was shipping as much of its commodities as practicable to hard currency countries; whilst, on the other hand, in terms of Pakistan rupees it would force up the cost of imports and increase living costs. In particular, the purchase of capital goods from non-sterling areas would in terms of its own currency cost Pakistan much less if it decided not to devalue. The Governor of the State Bank stressed that one of the reasons for the Government's decision not to devalue the Pakistan rupee was the prevalence of inflation in East

Pakistan. There may also have been a feeling that if no economic disadvantage was involved it was an enhancement of national prestige to avoid currency devaluation.

India had only two days' clear warning of Britain's decision to devalue. Thus Delhi had little time left to attempt to arrive at mutually agreed, if not necessarily uniform, decisions with Karachi. While the political aspect of Pakistan's decision not to devalue the rupee served to boost internal morale, its effect on Indo-Pakistani trade relations was deplorable. Commercial circles in Pakistan question whether sufficient thought was given to the practical implications of getting out of step with the rest of the sterling area. The country's economic strength rests almost wholly on its exports, mainly jute and cotton, and the danger now threatening its economy is that with an exchange disadvantage of 44 percent its main customers will no longer be able to buy them. It was expected that the Government would ease the position by removing, or scaling down, the high export duties; but, even so, local businessmen feel that devaluation to the extent of 10-15 percent would have been wise, and might yet prove unavoidable.

PRODUCTION AND TRADE

The Islamic dominion is in the fortunate position of being largely self-sufficient in respect of foodstuffs; in addition, East Pakistan produces certain staples (jute and tea) for which there is a worldwide demand. Pakistan's industrial backwardness enabled it to escape some of the complex problems besetting more advanced countries. Thus its foreign trade has resulted in a substantial favorable balance of payments. It has also been able to approximate to a balanced position with the world at large, including the dollar area, although the balance would have been adverse had Pakistan been able to acquire the capital goods it needs. From August 1947 to the end of 1949 the country's sea-born trade showed a deficit of less than Rs. 50 million, which was more than wiped out if landwise commerce is taken into account. From April 1, 1948, to March 31, 1949, the aggregate value of Pakistan's maritime trade in private merchandise with

countries other than India amounted to Rs. 1,689.3 million, with imports valued at Rs. 875 million and exports at Rs. 813.7 million, leaving an unfavorable balance of Rs. 67.3 million. Trade with India during the same period showed a highly favorable balance of Rs. 247 million. (See Table III.)

Pakistan's trade with the United Kingdom has shown a healthy growth. Its exports to the U. K. rose in value from £11.28 million in 1948 to £16.18 million the following year and imports from Britain increased from nearly £18 million to over £33 million in the same period.

In January 1950 Pakistan concluded a trade agreement with Germany and Czechoslovakia, representing an exchange of goods valued at £48 million a year. Later in the month it made public its trade pact with Japan. In this case, in exchange for shipments of jute, cotton, wool, and hides and skins to Japan, Pakistan will receive cotton piecegoods and yarns and a wide range of miscellaneous manufactures. All payments are to be made in sterling.

A measure for fixing and maintaining proper standards for all exported commodities and suitably penalizing delinquents is being worked out by the Government of Pakistan. Also, a permanent organisation is envisaged to succeed the Jute Board set up by Ordinance in October 1949. The Jute Board submitted early in 1950 recommendations on an acreage policy to the Central Government.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Since 60 to 70 percent of Pakistan's normal trade had been with India, the recent trend of Indo-Pakistani commerce as-

Table III. PAKISTAN'S SEABORNE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS
(in million rupees)

	<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
	April 1, 1948 to March 31, 1949	April 1, 1949 to Dec. 31, 1949	April 1, 1948 to March 31, 1949	April 1, 1949 to Dec. 31, 1949
Total	1,093.7	913.7	917.4	576.5
From India	449.4	147.7	229.2	76.5
" U. K.	270.1	295.3	150.2	106.7
" U. S. A.	79.6	96.7	130.3	29.5

sumes exceptional importance. Unfortunately, political prejudices at first triumphed over economic sanity and good neighborliness. The two countries drifted apart, a fact reflected in the diminution in inter-Dominion trade and the emergence of steep customs barriers at their frontiers.

The first commodities pact was signed in May 1948, under which Pakistan agreed to export to India (among other items) 650,000 bales of raw cotton, 175,000 tons of food grains, and 2,700,000 pieces of hides and skins against the latter's requirements of 900,000 bales, 300,000 tons, and 4,000,000 pieces respectively. India's promised supply of 2,190,000 tons of coal fell short of Pakistan's needs by 1,300,000, and of 80,000 tons of steel by 2,340 tons. At the end of the year Pakistan had failed to furnish the agreed quotas of raw cotton and jute, and had taken only a fraction of the Indian cloth it had stipulated to buy; at the same time it complained that India did not fulfil its part of the contract. In the agreement of 1949 Pakistani jute shipments to India were cut to 4 million bales and raw cotton to 450,000 bales; while India curtailed its exports of coal by 150,000 tons, and of cloth and yarn by 150,000 bales.

Even more ominous to inter-Dominion cooperation was the emergence of a high tariff wall. The tariff race between India and Pakistan started even before the expiry of the Standstill Agreement, under which total revenues on account of import and export duties were to be shared between them on the basis of accrual, while goods sent from India to Pakistan and vice versa were to be exempted from duties until March 1, 1948. Following several futile talks, Pakistan imposed in November 1947 an export duty of Rs. 15 per bale on raw jute shipped to India. Two months later India declared Pakistan a foreign territory for the purpose of collecting export duty on raw jute and jute manufactures. Towards the end of January 1948 Pakistan announced a duty of Rs. 40 per bale on raw cotton sent to India and followed it up with duties on certain other items of Indian origin. India then applied its full customs tariff to Pakistan in March 1948, exempting, a little later, fresh foods and a few other commodities. This recriminating customs war

penalised consumers in both countries by subjecting them to double taxation.

The Indo-Pakistan commodities exchange agreement of 1949 first suffered a setback at the end of September when India devalued its currency while Pakistan decided otherwise. It broke down completely in the last week of December, when India suspended coal supplies to Pakistan in protest against the latter's alleged detention of Indian goods in transit through its territory and of Pakistan jute paid for by Indian parties before devaluation. According to the Federal Bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India for February 1950, India's deficit with Pakistan on current account for the year ending June 1949 was Rs. 340 million (India's receipts totalled Rs. 835 million, and payments Rs. 1,175 million). It was further swollen by a net movement of Rs. 140 million of capital from India to Pakistan through the commercial banking system. In the three months ending September 1949 India's current payments to Pakistan, at Rs. 340 million, still exceeded by Rs. 200 million its receipts from the latter country; but during the succeeding quarter (post-devaluation period) this deficit of Rs. 200 million was turned into a surplus of Rs. 90 million. In short, with negligible amounts of jute and other Pakistani commodities reaching India, the latter country was running a large active trade balance with Pakistan.

The Indo-Pakistani agreement of April 8, 1950, marks the first step in the revival of trade on a balanced basis between the two countries. Under it Pakistan will sell 330 million lb. of raw jute to India; and with the sale proceeds buy 200,000 tons of Indian jute manufactures, 45,000 bales of fine cotton cloth, and 5,000 bales of cotton yarn, as well as specified quantities of mustard oil, steel sheet, wheel tires and axles, timber, cement, and woollen manufactures. The value of jute dealt with is estimated at Rs. 130 million each way. Trading will take place in Indian rupees, for which the Pakistan State Bank will maintain a separate account. In addition, the two Governments have agreed to remove all obstacles to the free flow of several other commodities and manufactures, leaving it to the trade to buy and sell them. Trade in these items is reckoned to total Rs. 40

million each way. Pakistan has also undertaken to ship 150,000 tons of wheat to India. The trade agreement was to be in force from May 3 to July 31, 1950, and provided for a periodical review of trade problems between the two countries. Its provisions have been continued as an interim measure.

On the credit side several financial loose ends between Pakistan and India were tidied up during the first two years. Agreements were reached and implemented on the division of cash balances, sterling assets, uncovered debt, railway and rolling stock, telegraph lines, post offices, and mints. The arbitration tribunal disposed of all border disputes between the two Punjabs and the two Bengals. Accord was also reached on the movable property of the refugees, their bank accounts, savings certificates and deposits. But deadlock persists over immovable evacuee property. It is maintained that neither India nor Pakistan has the right to appropriate or use evacuee property for the rehabilitation of displaced persons without payment of fair compensation to the owners. It can only be assessed by a joint agency, the difference in value being paid by one to the other according to an agreed formula. Early in 1950 broad agreement was reached and a conference on the problem is in prospect.

PLANS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Like its neighbors, Pakistan is bent upon fostering rapid industrialization. At the annual dinner of the Pakistan Chamber of Commerce in December 1949, Governor-General Kwaja Nazimuddin stated that "the best interests of Pakistan and its people demand that we should rapidly industrialize Pakistan. But the pace at which we are going is not fast enough. I realize that commerce provides quicker and higher returns, but one should not forget that the sellers' market of today is not going to hold forever. Why not start building on the surer foundations of industries and contributing to the well-being of the State?" On the same occasion Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan emphasized that the task before the business community was not only to increase the range and volume of exports, but also to expand markets.

A Planning Advisory Board was set up in January 1948 to advise the Pakistan Government on matters pertaining to planning and development, review progress made in implementing such plans, and educate the public in regard to the necessity for various development schemes undertaken to secure their cooperation. Up to July 1950 the Pakistan Development Board had received and scrutinized 143 local schemes and approved 105 of them, involving an aggregate capital outlay of Rs. 1,120 million over a period of five years. These are exclusive of projects sponsored by the Railway Department and such others as may be financed by the provinces out of their own resources. Loans totalling Rs. 80 million have been made available to the provinces to help execute their development schemes.

When Pakistan's Council of Industries was inaugurated in September 1949 the country's minimum capital requirements during the first decade were computed at Rs. 3,000 million. An Industries Promotion Corporation is to be set up to stimulate the flow of indigenous and foreign capital for the development of 27 specific industries, including jute and paper mills, fertilizers, steel, rubber tires and tubes, heavy chemicals, engineering and shipbuilding. Targets aimed at are set forth below:—

Jute manufactures	10,000 long tons
Pulp and paper.....	30,000 " "
Cotton textiles	1 million spindles and 25,000 looms
Sugar factories	100,000 long tons
Sulphuric acid	25,000 " "
Caustic soda	25,000 " "
Electric power	200,000 kw.
Tanneries	10,000 hides and 50,000 skins daily
Engineering Production	100,000 long tons

So far, Pakistan has set up four new cotton mills, and a 50,000-ton sugar factory. The first three of five proposed jute mills, each of 1,000 looms, are scheduled to start production in 1951, 1952, and 1953 respectively. It has been decided to erect a large paper mill in East Pakistan entailing a capital outlay of Rs. 50 million. Early in 1950 the Governor-General laid the foundation of the Kotri Barrage on the Indus River near Hyderabad, Sind. In conjunction with the Lower Sind scheme it supplements the great Sukkur Barrage. On completion in 1955, the Kotri Bar-

rage will bring hundreds of thousands of acres of barren land under irrigation, protect a vast stretch of land already under cultivation from floods and provide hydroelectric power. The Warsak Dam across the Kabul River will eventually generate 100,000 kw. of electricity, and irrigate 75,000 acres of arid land, including 26,000 acres in tribal territory. A sum of Rs. 150 million is to be expended on the development of the Chittagong port in East Pakistan in the next five years.

The U. K. Industrial Mission led by Lord Burghley and including experts on textiles, chemicals, electrical equipment, food processing, civil engineering, agricultural machinery, etc., spent three weeks during February-March 1950 in Pakistan. Its object was to report on measures to increase the flow of Anglo-Pakistan trade, and the way in which British industrialists and commercial organizations could give further assistance in the planning and execution of schemes under consideration for the economic development of Pakistan and expansion of its trade. Its report has not yet been published, but before leaving Karachi for Britain Lord Burghley, on behalf of the Mission, made a personal appeal to Pakistan to lose no time in settling its political and economic differences with India.

POLICY ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Against Pakistan's capital requirements of Rs. 3,000 million, foreign capital invested in the country until the end of February 1950 amounted to a paltry total of Rs. 12 million. Among factors discouraging inflow of foreign capital are state control, tax burdens, possibility of the nationalization of certain important industries, prevalence of obsolete economic ideas, and, above all, Indo-Pakistani differences, which hinder rational development of the respective resources of the two countries. Pakistan's attitude toward overseas capital was clarified by its Commerce Minister in March 1948. He stated that his country would welcome foreign capital seeking investment from a purely industrial and economic objective and not claiming any special privileges. Participation of Pakistan nationals must, however, be assured both in the administrative and technical services, and training

facilities should be provided to Pakistanis by concerns desirous of establishing themselves in the country. Where trading facilities, rather than setting up of industries, are desired by foreign firms subsidiaries should be registered in Pakistan.

Subject to these general conditions, foreign capital is welcome so long as opportunities for participation of indigenous capital are provided, and monopolies avoided. In a few specified key industries, 51 percent of the capital must be offered to Pakistani nationals. As regards others, an opportunity should normally be given to Pakistanis to subscribe at least 30 percent of all classes of share capital and debentures. But if, in either case, the Government is satisfied that the requisite amount of indigenous capital is not forthcoming, the balance might, with its prior approval, be subscribed by foreign investors. Apart from these conditions industries financed and controlled by nationals of other countries are assured of fair and just treatment. The Government will allow facilities for the remittance of a "reasonable proportion of profits" to countries from which the capital is drawn.

At the inaugural conference of the Associated Chambers of Pakistan held at Karachi on February 23, 1950, Mr. Bevis Graham, the President, appealed to the Government to reduce the rate of direct taxation, as the present rate gave no encouragement to capital investment either domestic or foreign. The Governor-General of Pakistan assured the Association that the Government would give the most earnest consideration to the recommendations made in the President's speech, adding that it had already under examination taxation, direct and indirect, not only in consequence of the devaluation policy, but also in the broader context of the economy of the country with special reference to industrialization and investment of capital.

Soon afterwards, the Pakistan Government announced the following measures of taxation relief to industry: (1) New industrial undertakings using power-driven machinery and employing more than 50 workers would be exempt, during the first five years, from income tax, super tax, and Business Profits Tax on so much of their profits as do not exceed 5 percent of the capital employed. (2) Concession of allowance of initial de-

preciation of 15 percent in respect of the year of erection of new buildings was extended up to the end of March 1953. (3) Initial special depreciation of 20 percent, which had been allowed only on new machinery and plants, was extended to machinery and plants which are brought into use for the first time in Pakistan, even if they had been previously used elsewhere.

In April 1950 the Pakistan Government announced further taxation reliefs to industry for the period ending March 1953. It exempted from taxation all profits up to 5 percent of capital of new factory undertakings employing 50 or more workers. The existing special depreciation allowance of 15 percent on new buildings had been extended to 10 percent on other buildings, and initial depreciation on plant and machinery doubled to 40 percent. There are also tax allowances for scientific research, and further reliefs in respect of U. K. income tax.

MINORITIES AGREEMENT WITH INDIA

Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Finance Minister of Pakistan, stated at Karachi on May 5, 1950, that foreign capital would not come to Pakistan or India until the outstanding problems between them were settled. Strained political and economic relations between the two countries stem from three stubborn causes—Kashmir, canal waters, and currency. Since the economy of both states is so closely interlinked, despite the recent tendency to stress self-sufficiency and separate economies, a parity between the two rupees is highly desirable, but it is not likely to be found at either end of the present yawning gap.

The Minorities Agreement which the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India signed on April 8, 1950,² undoubtedly averted a crisis, and provided a rallying point for men of goodwill on both sides to set their face against evils of intolerance and communal hatred.

Speedy steps have been taken to implement the main terms of the agreement. The ban on the entry of Pakistan papers into India and vice versa has been lifted. The Government of India has decided to release movable properties of some Pakistan Gov-

² For text, see *Middle East Journal*, IV (July 1950), pp. 344-48.

ernment officials taken over under the India evacuee property law in Uttar Pradesh in 1949. India's action followed the practice in Pakistan where no evacuee, having once migrated, could return and remove his household effects without a permit from the Custodian of Evacuee Property. A conference of the Chief Secretaries of the Governments of East and West Bengal is scheduled to meet in Dacca to consider measures to restore confidence among minorities, including the proposed legislation for setting up committees to act as trustees for evacuee property. Machinery for the expeditious settlement of claims — pensions, provident funds, and leave salaries — of displaced persons is being devised. The Minority Commissions charged with the implementation of the agreement, and reporting on progress made from time to time, have started work in both West Bengal and East Pakistan. Late in May 1950 Indian and Pakistani engineers held a two-day conference on the canal water dispute in a friendly atmosphere, and agreed to resume talks soon.

Sir Owen Dixon, the UN mediator for Kashmir, stated in New Delhi on May 27, 1950, that he was "full of hope" that the difficult Kashmir problem could be peacefully solved with the cooperation of the parties concerned. The *Calcutta Statesman*, the only English-owned paper in India enjoying a wide circulation in both India and Pakistan, in its editorial of May 28, 1950, suggested a condominium for Kashmir by which India and Pakistan would share control in matters of defense, foreign affairs, and communications. All other matters would be left to the Kashmiris themselves. India and Pakistan would withdraw all troops. A free election would then decide by whom the Kashmiris want to be governed. Such an election would be much easier to arrange than a plebiscite. These suggestions would appear to be in accord with the sentiments of many influential people outside the Government. Nevertheless, talks between Sir Owen Dixon and Pakistani and Indian representatives during the summer brought no constructive results.

Continued estrangement has had the calamitous effect of impoverishing the economy of both Pakistan and India. By united effort these two countries could, in a large measure, overcome the

difficulties of feeding, clothing, and housing, and the handicaps of illiteracy and ill health among their teeming millions. In a dangerous and disjointed world they could by cooperation brave misfortunes and supplement each other's efforts in bettering the lot of the common man. Of all Asiatic countries, India and Pakistan are best equipped to face up to the challenge of totalitarianism, if only they contrive to live in amity like the United States and Canada and pull together. But both badly need external economic and technical assistance to achieve a more balanced, stable, and prosperous economy. Here, surely, there is room for collaboration between East and West.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

ON JUNE 27, when the Security Council voted on the United States resolution to request the members of the UN to furnish assistance to the Republic of South Korea, its two Middle Eastern members — Egypt and India — both refrained. The reason given was the lack of instructions from their home governments. A few days later the Egyptian delegate was instructed to abstain; at the same time the Indian delegate was instructed to give the recommendation India's full approval. The final count, therefore, was 8 in favor, 1 opposed (Yugoslavia), 1 abstention (Egypt), and 1 absent (USSR).

The official explanation for Egypt's vote was offered by Prime Minister Nahhas on June 30. Two attitudes apparently determined its decision: first, that the Korean affair was merely a new phase of the U.S. — USSR struggle, which unfortunately endangered world peace but was not the concern of Egypt, and in which Egypt therefore refused to take sides; secondly, that since Egypt had been rebuffed in its 1947 attempt to gain satisfaction at the UN in the matter of treaty relations with Great Britain, it saw no reason to join with the UN in going to the aid of Korea. Unexpressed but clearly implied was the further annoyance with Great Britain and the U.S. (particularly the latter) for their failure to support the Arab cause in Palestine, and more recent irritation with the United States press for its discourteous treatment of King Faruq.

Further elucidations which Foreign Minister Salah al-Din offered on Egypt's stand revealed that it did not in reality regard the spread of Communism as a matter of no concern. Egypt still hoped that Communist aggression would be halted; it continued to refuse to recognize the government of communist China despite urging to do so from India. The inconsistency between this assertion and its refusal to back UN action on Korea demon-

strated that for the time being, at least, Egypt was putting its own particular problems ahead of a matter of general concern. There was no apparent parallel between Great Britain's unwillingness in 1947 to revise drastically the terms of its 1936 treaty with Egypt, and North Korea's aggression against the Republic of South Korea; if there was a parallel, it is difficult to appreciate, by any other reasoning, why Egypt should actively fight the former and at most merely deplore the latter.

The Egyptian attitude of neutrality on Korea, derived from irritation with U.S. policy on Palestine and British policy on treaty revision, found wide popular support in Egypt and to a somewhat less marked degree in the northern Arab states. The governments of these latter states, however, refused officially to follow Egypt's lead. With an eye on their basic long range need of Western support, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq one by one announced their adherence to the UN action. The result was a weakening of the Arab League with respect to a common front on foreign policy. For the West, it added to doubts already present as to the extent to which united Arab support might be counted upon in case of a crisis.

It was India rather than Egypt which spoke for the non-Western nations on the Korean issue. Opposing both the spread of Communism within its own borders and big-power imperialism generally, yet desiring to remain neutral in the East-West conflict, the Government of India nevertheless seconded UN intervention in Korea. The reason given was simply that India was opposed to the settlement of any international dispute by resort to aggression. To make doubly clear that it was not siding with either the Western or Soviet blocs, India then proceeded to use its offices in an appeal first of all to localize the conflict, then to end hostilities through mediation. On July 13 Prime Minister Nehru addressed a letter to

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson to this effect, specifically proposing that a first step be the admission of the Communist Chinese delegate to the Security Council, thus ending the Soviet boycott. In reply, the United States Government refused to admit an association between Korea and the question of Communist China, or to consider mediation at least until the North Koreans had been driven back to the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union on the other hand, agreed to the principle of mediation provided the Communist Chinese delegate to the Security Council was seated and UN forces were withdrawn from southern Korea. India's unsuccessful mediation attempt was illustrative of Asia's preference for the West's ideology, but distrust of its practices.

As the Korean crisis was attracting the attention of the world during the summer, the UN's efforts at reaching a definitive end to the Palestine problem died a natural death. The Conciliation Commission held its last meeting

in Jerusalem at the end of August, then departed for Geneva to draw up its report of failure for the General Assembly meeting in September. Likewise the efforts of the Trusteeship Council to carry through its plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem met with continued opposition from both Israel and Jordan, and the whole question was returned to the General Assembly. On the other hand, the UN's Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees slowly got under way, until by the end of August almost 5,000 refugees were being employed in Jordan on road construction, while road, afforestation, and irrigation projects were shortly to be initiated in Lebanon and Syria.

Farther east the pattern was repeated. Sir Owen Dixon, UN Mediator for Kashmir, admitted failure in his attempts to bring about a plebiscite. He concluded, in his report to the Security Council on September 20, that partition would be the only eventual solution.

Chronology¹

JUNE 1 — AUGUST 31, 1950

Afghanistan

1950

June 22: Under the \$20 million program pledged by countries participating in the UN technical assistance project for underdeveloped countries, a UN technical assistance mission arrived in Kabul to advise on development projects. The mission was headed by Edwin R. Henson of the UN division of economic stability and development.

July 11: The International Children's Emergency Fund signed an agreement with the Government for a \$100,000 medical aid program to lower infant mortality.

July 18: A 4-year trade agreement with the Soviet Union was concluded.

Arab League

1950

June 12: The Arab League Council met to consider the signing of an Arab League collective security pact in Alexandria.

Egypt demanded the expulsion of Jordan from the Arab League for incorporating eastern Palestine without League sanction. (*London Times*, June 13.)

June 17: Five of the Arab League's seven member states — Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen — initialed a collective security pact obligating them to take up arms if any one of them became a victim of aggression. Iraq declined to initial the pact because Jordan had not been represented in the session.

June 21: The Arab states pledged themselves to maintain peace and not use for aggression arms obtained from the Great Powers.

Aug. 6: An Arab League source reported that R.A.F. planes had bombed and strafed Yemeni tribesmen in several raids the previous week near Yemen and the border of the Aden Protectorate.

Cyprus

1950

June 5: Demonstrators protested the arrest of Limassol's communist mayor and his five communist councilors. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 6.)

¹ In general, items in the Chronology are drawn from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated.

Egypt

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 5: Field Marshal Sir William Slim, chief of the British Imperial Staff, began talks with Egyptian officials on the defense of the Suez Canal.

June 13: Egypt withdrew its delegation to the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission. In the future, if necessary, Egypt would be represented by its Minister in Berne.

June 17: 17 Senators, among whom were two former Prime Ministers, were removed from office by royal decree and replaced by Wafdists. 29 Senators originally had been removed, but 12 were reinstated by a later decree. The former Prime Ministers involved in the order were Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi Pasha, and Husayn Sirri Pasha.

June 19: The Alexandria Cotton Exporters Association petitioned King Faruq for help in relieving the emergency caused by the cornering of the cotton market by two wealthy Pashas.

June 23: A joint statement from the Liberal, Saadist, Nationalist, and Kotla Parliamentary opposition groups denounced as "unconstitutional" the recent royal decrees concerning changes in the Senate. All four groups voted to boycott both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. (*London Times*, June 24.)

The Ministry of Special Affairs announced the Government's decision to provide old-age and total disability pensions for every Egyptian without other means of support. An estimated 500,000 people with an additional 1,000,000 dependency would be cared for at a cost of some \$18 million a year.

June 30: Mahmud Bey Fawzi, Egyptian delegate, informed the Security Council that Egypt would not support the UN effort in the Korean crisis. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 1.)

July 6: Mustafa Nusrat Bey, Minister of War, stated that 60 Israeli soldiers had crossed the armistice line between Israel and Egypt on June 30, attacked a village under fighter plane cover, and destroyed crops. The Israelis replied that they had crossed the line "by mistake."

July 7: Under legislation sponsored by the Wafdist Party, Egyptian journalists and foreign correspondents who published information about the Egyptian royal family without written permission from the Minister of Interior became subject to imprisonment up to one year and a fine of £E 100 (\$287).

July 9: Ismail Sidqi Pasha, former Prime Minister of Egypt, died in the American Hospital in Paris at the age of 75.

July 15: In response to an appeal made by UN Secretary General Trygve Lie, Mustafa Nusrat Bey said that Egypt would not send troops to Korea.

July 17: The International Monetary Fund announced that Egypt had returned \$3 million in U. S. currency advanced in April 1949, and that it had also paid another \$5,507,929.67 to boost its gold and dollar payments on capital subscription to 25% of its \$60 million quota.

July 20: Egypt demanded that the British-controlled Anglo-Egyptian Sudan stop all further trade with Israel. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 21.)

July 21: Foreign Minister Salah al-Din Bey told a press conference that Egypt was maintaining neutrality toward the UN resolution for military intervention in Korea. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 22.)

Aug. 16: Manafi Bey Fahmi, Director-General of the Department of Industry, announced that Egypt's entire 1950 output of 300,000 tons of manganese had been sold to the U. S.

Aug. 22: Minister of State Hamid Zaki Bey stated that the Egyptian Government had instructed port authorities to refuse drinking water and food supplies to ships suspected of taking war and "essential materials" to Israel.

Aug. 25: Britain, Norway, and the U. S. protested to the Government of Egypt against the black-listing of certain tankers from use of the Suez Canal. These ships had been denied water, food supplies, and other essentials. Egypt contended that while the Canal was an international waterway, servicing of ships would involve the use of port facilities under Egyptian sovereignty.

Aug. 31: A Trans World Airline Constellation crashed and burned near the edge of the Nile Delta, killing all 55 persons aboard.

Ethiopia

1950

June 28: The Export-Import Bank stated that it had authorized a credit of up to \$1 million to Ethiopian Air Lines, Inc., to buy two Convair 240-type planes and spare equipment.

Aug. 7: The Government informed the UN that it was prepared to contribute combat forces to Korea.

Aug. 27: It was reported from Cairo that Ethiopian peasants killed 2 district governors in a continuing revolt against taxes and the rule of Emperor Haile Selassie. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Aug. 28.)

India

(See also Kashmir Problem.)

1950

June 1: The Peasants and Workers Party, with five representatives in the Bombay State Legislature, announced today that it would henceforth be known as the Marxist-Leninist Party. It announced that its guidance was from the Communist Information Bureau.

June 2: The Ministry of Finance announced that capital from the United States and other hard-

currency countries invested after January 1, 1950, in "Government approved projects" could be repatriated "to the extent of the original investment and from the proceeds of that investment."

Dr. John Matthai, recently resigned Finance Minister, confirmed the rumors that one of the main reasons for his resignation was differences with Prime Minister Nehru over his "appeasement" policy regarding Pakistan.

June 9: India and South Africa reached a deadlock on the question of holding a round table conference on the problem of the Indian minority in South Africa. New Delhi stated that because the South African Government was determined to pursue a policy of segregation through the group areas bill, it would not participate in the proposed talks.

June 13: The Government allocated Rs. 750 million (\$60 million) over three years to help rehabilitate India's 8 million refugees. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 14.)

June 19: The Hindu Mahasabha announced its decision to contest the first general elections to be held under the new Indian constitution in April 1951.

June 28: The Government directed the State Governments to make the teaching of Hindi compulsory in all upper primary school classes.

Representatives of India and Pakistan, meeting in New Delhi, reached agreement on the manner of settlement of "movable property" abandoned by Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India: India and Pakistan would each release all frozen assets of refugees.

June 29: Prime Minister Nehru notified UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie that India accepted the Security Council recommendation that members of the UN send armed forces to repel the invasion of Southern Korea. He also stated that this did not mean any modification of India's foreign policy under which it was not allied with either the democracies or the countries of the Soviet orbit.

June 30: The Indian press extended full support to the Government's decision to align itself with the U. S., Great Britain, and other democratic nations in the Korean conflict.

July 4: India offered to act as mediator in an attempt to end the Korean war.

July 13: The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, announced that all of the large agricultural estates in the Indian-held section of the state would be sliced up and awarded to farm workers.

The Government delivered notes to the U. S. and the Soviet Union expressing the hope that everything possible would be done to localize the Korean war.

July 17: Soviet Prime Minister Stalin, in a note to Prime Minister Nehru, stated that the first step in dealing with the Korean conflict should be the

acceptance of the Chinese Communist Government by the UN Security Council.

The U. S. drafted a note to Prime Minister Nehru which stated that it was not yet prepared to bring the Chinese Communist Government into the Security Council to discuss the Korean conflict.

An Indian civil plane crashed near Kashmir, killing 22 persons aboard, including 5 Americans and the Canadian chief of the UN military observers team in Kashmir.

July 18: U. S. Secretary of State Acheson sent a note to Prime Minister Nehru in which he said that no peace negotiations over Korea could start until the Communist invaders withdrew.

July 19: In a second note to U. S. Secretary of State Acheson, Prime Minister Nehru expressed the hope that admittance of the Communist Chinese to the UN would "create a suitable atmosphere for the peaceful solution of the Korean problem."

July 21: In a note to U. S. Secretary of State Acheson, Prime Minister Nehru asked him "as an act of faith" to use his influence to bring the Chinese Communists into the UN.

July 29: India announced that it would send ambulance and surgical units of its regular army to serve with the UN forces in Korea.

July 31: Treaties of peace and friendship, and of trade and commerce, between India and Nepal were signed at Katmandu, the Nepalese capital.

Aug. 5: Moti Kirpalani, India's newly appointed Minister to the United States, arrived in New York.

Aug. 12: Near-famine conditions were reported from Madras, Bihar, and Bombay. The Government ordered measures to control production and distribution of food in those areas.

Aug. 14: The Indian delegation to the UN called for a special committee to study "war aims" for Korea, and to discuss proposals for a peace settlement based on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of the Communist troops. Such a committee would be formed of six non-permanent members: Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Norway, and Yugoslavia.

Portugal declined to discuss and settle the future of the Portuguese possessions in India on the ground that they "formed an integral part of Portugal."

Parliament passed an emergency law giving the Government power to send food hoarders to prison for 7 years, fine them 20 times the value of the hoarded food, and confiscate the food.

Aug. 15: Heavy earthquake shocks in Upper Assam killed and injured many persons, wrecked buildings, and broke down telephone and telegraph connections in many Himalayan mountain towns. Tremors were also felt in Calcutta, Bihar, and the United Provinces.

Aug. 19: Reports from Assam indicated that enormous tracts of lowlands had sunk out of sight, engulfing dozens of villages. About 20 tea plantations in Assam were reported ruined.

Aug. 31: In a 24-hour textile strike, workers clashed with the police, killing 5 persons and wounding 41 others. The strike was organized by Communists and Socialists among the textile workers, who were demanding bonuses.

Iran

1950

June 4: It was announced that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had lent the Government £6 million (\$16,800,000) free of interest on account of current royalties.

June 6: President Truman nominated Henry F. Grady, former Ambassador to Greece, as Ambassador to Iran, to succeed John C. Wiley.

June 8: The Government named Nasrollah Entezam, former Minister of Court and Foreign Affairs, as its permanent delegate to the UN.

June 10: Seyyid Abolqasim Kashani was welcomed back to Iran after 16 months in exile in Beirut following the attempted assassination of the Shah by a Tudeh Party member. Kashani was recently elected a Deputy in the lower house of Parliament and returned to take his seat.

June 17: The Government asked Poland to close its Legation in Tehran, and stated that its Legation in Warsaw would also be closed. It was asserted that this action was taken because of lack of funds.

June 18: The Shah announced the appointment of Dr. Taqi Nasr, former Minister of National Economy, as Minister to the Iranian Embassy in Washington. The appointment of Nasrollah Entezam as Ambassador to Washington was also confirmed.

June 20: The Soviet Government delivered a note to the Government demanding again that it "eliminate the abnormal situation" regarding American oil prospectors along the Iranian-Soviet border.

June 25: The Foreign Ministry told the Majlis that the Soviet note of June 20 referred to internal affairs about which the country would permit no outside interference.

June 26: Lieut. Gen. Ali Razmara, Chief of the General Staff, submitted to the Shah a revised Cabinet list as follows:

General Ali Razmara — Prime Minister
Dr. Taqi Nasr — Finance
Mahmud Salahi — Foreign Affairs
General Abdullah Hedayat — War
Dr. Jahanshah Saleh — Health
Dr. Morteza Azmudeh — National Economy
Dr. Shamseddin Jazairi — Education
Fayzollah Bahrani — Interior
Ibrahim Mahdavi — Agriculture
Dr. Mohammad Nakhai — Labor

July 2: In a demonstration against Prime Minister General Ali Razmara, a number of persons, including police, were injured. The demonstration was said to have been organized by the "National

Front," an opposition group of about 12 members of the 136-man Parliament.

July 4: Prime Minister Razmara won a vote of confidence by 97 to 7 in the Parliament.

July 15: The Government repudiated Soviet charges that "an abnormal situation incompatible with good neighbor relations" existed along the Soviet-Iranian border.

July 18: Mohsen Rais, Iranian Ambassador to London, was appointed Foreign Minister, replacing Acting Foreign Minister Mahmud Salahi, who was named Ambassador to Iraq.

July 27: Iran barred foreign correspondents from visiting the Azerbaijan area near the Russian border in northwest Iran.

Aug. 13: Iran and Pakistan agreed to set up a joint boundary commission to fix the undemarcated sectors of the Pakistan-Iranian border.

Aug. 15: Four Iranian soldiers who had been seized by Soviet border guards were returned after being held for seven months.

Aug. 16: Prime Minister Razmara stated that the USSR would return 3 further Iranian soldiers.

Aug. 19: A Government source stated that the Russians had released 2 more Iranian soldiers and a sergeant captured in border incidents in 1949. Out of 9 prisoners sought by Iran, 7 had now been returned.

Aug. 28: Mohammad Nakhai was replaced as Minister of Labor by Gholam Husayn Fonihiar. Dr. Nakhai was appointed Managing Director of the Plan Organization.

Aug. 30: The newspaper *Ettela'at* reported that the Soviet Union had agreed to set up a joint commission with Iran to study border differences between the two countries.

Iraq

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 8: The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum made an agreement with the British Government concerning the sale of Iraq petroleum in the sterling areas.

June 15: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development signed agreements pertaining to a loan of \$12,800,000 to the Government to be used for financing a flood control system for the Tigris River.

July 10: 11 of Baghdad's 16 Arabic newspapers went on strike in protest against a proposed Government bill which demanded that newspaper owners hold university degrees. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 10.)

Israel

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 8: The Government started an investigation of Arab reports that there were cases of torture

and maltreatment of Arab infiltrators into Israel. The reports came from Jordan and were supplemented by declarations from UN observers. The investigation was started at the request of U. S. Secretary of State Acheson.

June 12: David Horowitz, economic adviser to the Government, began talks with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company on the future of the Haifa oil refineries.

June 13: James G. McDonald, U. S. Ambassador to Israel, and Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett, signed a commercial air agreement providing reciprocal landing rights. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 14.)

The Knesset voted 50 to 38 to acquire a constitution "by evolution over an unspecified period of years."

June 14: Israel authorities released Charles Clinton Cloud, Jr., Philadelphia businessman, one of 6 persons aboard a Jordan aircraft forced down over Israel. The plane, 4 Arab passengers, and the British pilot were held. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 15.)

June 19: Israel apologized to the Swedish Government for the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte.

June 22: Rabbi Judah L. Maimon, Minister for Religious Affairs, walked out of a Cabinet meeting and tendered his resignation. The controversy arose over proposed cuts in his Ministry's budget, and the purchase of meat from the U. S. which did not conform to religious dietary laws.

June 28: It was announced by a spokesman for the Israel Legation in London that the Haifa refineries would resume operations in three months. Consolidated Refineries, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, had made arrangements to send a supply of crude oil to Haifa.

June 29: The Knesset passed a \$166 million budget to be financed by internal revenue.

July 1: Norway extended full recognition to Israel.

July 4: By a vote of 68-20, with 8 abstentions, the Knesset approved the Security Council's resolution for the support of South Korea. (*London Times*, July 5.)

July 6: Hospital nurses went on strike, demanding a 42-hour week during summer months.

July 7: The Government requested a loan of \$42 million from France for agricultural products. (France loaned Israel \$15 million during the first six months of 1950.)

July 9: 100 orderlies joined the 2,000 nurses on strike, demanding better working conditions and higher pay.

July 10: The strike of nurses in government, municipal, and Hadassah hospitals ended. The General Federation of Labor, which outlawed the nurses' strike, agreed to present their demands to the Government on condition that they go back to work.

Israel authorities released two British planes which had been detained a week for landing at Lydda airport without permission.

July 12: The Government made "the strongest possible protest" to Major General William L. Riley, head of the UN truce commission, when Syrians killed one Israeli policeman and wounded another on board a police launch near the north-east coast of the Sea of Galilee. Three policemen in a second launch were reported as captured by Syrian troops.

July 17: Israel's 16 representatives in European and American countries met in Tel Aviv with Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett for their first "stock taking" conference on foreign affairs.

July 28: Jewish teachers, writers, and educators from 30 countries voted at an international conference in Jerusalem to establish a Hebrew World League.

July 30: U. S. Ambassador James G. McDonald, dean of the diplomatic corps in Israel, submitted his resignation.

Supply Minister Bernard Joseph announced that clothing would be rationed in Israel.

Aug. 3: The Government offered medical aid to the UN forces in Korea, but sent a cablegram to Secretary General Trygve Lie stating that Israel could not do more because of "the duty of vigilance and preparedness" made necessary by the Arabs' refusal to sign a peace treaty.

A bill making it illegal for girls under 17 to contract marriage was approved by the Parliament. The ruling also applied to Israel's Muslim community.

Aug. 16: Prime Minister Ben Gurion asked Jews in the U. S. and other countries to raise \$1 billion by 1953 to cover the cost of rescuing Jews from the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Israel would assume one third of the total cost.

Aug. 28: Haifa oil refineries resumed operations.

Italian Colonies

1950

June 29: The UN Commission for Eritrea put forward three plans for the future of the colony, the five-member commission being unable to reach a decision on a single plan.

1.) Burma and the Union of South Africa recommended that Eritrea be constituted a self-governing unit within a federation with Ethiopia, under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown.

2.) Norway recommended reunion of the whole territory of Eritrea with Ethiopia. The Western Province of Eritrea should then be under present British administration for a limited time.

3.) Guatemala and Pakistan recommended that the UN take over the trusteeship of Eritrea for 10 years, to be followed by complete independence.

July 23: A bomb explosion and the assassination of Longhi Vittorio, member of the independence Front Bloc, brought fears of a new wave of terrorism to Asmara, Eritrea.

July 29: A British corporal and three native auxiliary policemen were killed in a clash with Shifta terrorists.

Jordan

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 5: Foreign Minister Muhammad al-Shurayqi Pasha stated that Jordan would attend the next meeting of the Arab League Council, but would not participate in talks about Jordan's Union with Arab Palestine.

July 1: The Palestine pound was replaced by the dinar as Jordan's official currency, although Palestine notes and coins continued to be legal tender until the end of August. The dinar, like the Palestine pound, would be equivalent in value to the pound sterling.

July 10: The Government announced its support of the UN decisions concerning the Korean conflict. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, July 10.)

July 31: Jordan and Syria protested to the UN that Israel had deliberately violated the armistice agreements signed with the neighboring Arab Governments. Both protests were made in support of earlier Lebanese claims that an Israeli pilot had fired on a civil aircraft on July 24.

Aug. 10: The Arab League Secretariat announced that Jordan would attend the League's political committee meeting in Alexandria on Aug. 15.

Aug. 20: Press censorship was reimposed after 6 months' leniency.

Kashmir Problem

1950

June 13: The *Statesman*, in a dispatch from Jammu, reported that at least 21 soldiers were killed in a 4-hour gun battle between Pakistani troops and Kashmir State troops under Indian command. This was the first breach of the Kashmir cease-fire truce in 18 months. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 14.)

July 24: Five days of conferences between Indian Prime Minister Nehru, Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, and UN Mediator Sir Owen Dixon, ended inconclusively.

Lebanon

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 20: The first direct air service from New York to Beirut left La Guardia field.

July 7: The Government announced its decision to support the UN appeal for aid to the Republic of Korea.

July 25: The Government protested to the UN that an Israel fighter plane had attacked a Lebanese airliner, killing 2 of the 28 passengers aboard. The Israel Government disclaimed any responsibility for the reported forcing down of the Lebanese plane, saying that the plane had attempted to cross part of Israel illegally.

North Africa

1950

July 5: The Committee for Freedom of North Africa asked UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie to bring before the Security Council its charge that French troops had killed 120 persons and wounded 215 during a demonstration.

Aug. 18: Mohammed Chenik was appointed Prime Minister of Tunis. Salah Ben Youssef became Minister of Justice. (*London Times*, Aug. 19.)

Pakistan

(See also Kashmir Problem.)

1950

June 7: L. Shaffi, Pakistan Consul General, disclosed at the spring meeting of the Textile Bag Manufacturers Association, that Pakistan private financial interests had placed orders for equipment to set up 4 jute mills of 1,000 looms apiece to go into operation in approximately 18 months. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 8.)

June 16: The Government suggested to the South African Government that it postpone "administrative enforcement" of the Group Areas Bill for Racial Segregation until after a proposed international Round Table Conference.

June 30: Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan left the United States for London. He stated that Pakistan would furnish material help for southern Korea "within its means."

July 11: Pakistan joined the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, thus becoming the 48th nation to join. Pakistan's quota in the International Monetary Fund was \$100 million.

July 25: Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Government would "fully consider" UN Secretary Trygve Lie's request for ground troops for Korea.

Aug. 6: The Muslim League's Central Committee endorsed the Government's support of the UN regarding the Korean war.

Aug. 13: Pakistan and Iran agreed to set up a joint boundary commission to fix the undemarcated sectors of the Pakistan-Iran border.

Aug. 25: Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan offered Prime Minister Nehru a gift of 10,000 maunds of rice (357 tons), for the relief of earthquake victims in India.

Aug. 31: Foreign Minister Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan said that his government would support the UN actions concerning Korea.

Palestine Problem

1950

June 2: The UN received formal notice that both Israel and Jordan had rejected the Trusteeship

Council's draft statute for internationalizing Jerusalem.

June 8: The Government of Israel started an investigation of Arab reports that there were cases of torture and maltreatment of Arab infiltrators into Israel. The reports came from Jordan and were supplemented by declarations from UN observers. The investigation was started at the request of U. S. Secretary of State Acheson.

June 9: Israel's reply to the reported mistreatment of Arab infiltrators was "keep on your own side of the border."

June 11: Israel notified Jordan that it advocated the establishment of mixed border patrols to check Arab infiltrations into Israel.

June 12: Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon told the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission that they would maintain their refusal to open direct peace talks with Israel unless Arab refugees were permitted to return to Israel territory.

June 14: The UN Trusteeship Council, in a vote of 9-1 (Iraq dissenting and the Philippines abstaining), agreed to inform the General Assembly that, though they had tried to enforce the establishment of an international regime for Jerusalem, Jordan and Israel, occupants of the city, refused to cooperate with the statute drawn up by the Council. The problem was therefore being passed back to the General Assembly for study.

June 17: Peace talks between Jordan and Israel were reportedly resumed in Amman.

Five of the Arab League's seven member states—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen—initiated a collective security pact obligating them to take up arms if any one of them became a victim of aggression. Iraq declined to initial the pact, because Jordan had not been represented in the session.

June 21: An opposition motion for a debate on the New Jerusalem Plan, which the Government of Israel submitted to the UN, was defeated in the Knesset by a vote 47 to 27. Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett was delegated to pursue the policy of advocating a General Assembly statute granting the UN functional authority over the Holy Places in Jerusalem.

June 22: Israel asked the UN to take steps necessary to enforce the armistice agreement with Jordan.

July 18: The UN started work on two field projects of the \$54 million emergency program to provide jobs for 900,000 Arab refugees. The first project was the construction of the Tulkarm-Azzun road in Jordan-controlled eastern Palestine; the second was a Hebron—Al-Samu' road further south.

Aug. 7: It was reported that one Israeli border soldier and 7 Arabs were killed in a border clash when Arab shepherds drove their flocks into Israel territory. The Israel spokesmen said that armored cars of Jordan's Arab Legion had opened fire on the Israel patrol when it drove the shepherds back across the border.

Saudi Arabia added its formal protest to the

Arab complaints accusing Israel of committing an act of aggression in allegedly attacking a Lebanese plane.

Aug. 12: Israel desert patrols clashed with four other groups described as Arab smugglers, killed 10 of them, and captured the contraband.

Aug. 27: 10 Arabs were reported killed by the Israel Army in an attempt to clear Bedouin tribesmen out of the Negev desert area. (N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, Aug. 28.)

Aug. 30: In a meeting at Jerusalem, the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission decided to draft a report of its activities for the General Assembly.

Aug. 31: A clash between Israel and Arab forces north of Hebron resulted in 6 deaths on each side

Saudi Arabia

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

Aug. 4: The U. S. granted the Government a credit of \$15 million to be advanced by the Export-Import Bank for the development of the country's transportation, power, health, sanitation, and agriculture. The loan was to be repaid within 15 years.

Aug. 28: President Truman nominated Raymond A. Hare, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, as Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Minister to Yemen.

Syria

(See also Palestine Problem.)

1950

June 4: Nazim al-Qudsi, deputy leader of the People's Party, formed a new Cabinet for "transitional administrative functions pending on the Constituent Assembly's completion of a new Constitution." The list of the Cabinet members was as follows:

Nazim al-Qudsi—Prime Minister
Shakir Al'as—Economics and Agriculture
George Shalhub—Public Works
Farhan al-Jandali—Education and Hygiene
Rashad Barmada—Interior
Zaki al-Kahtib—Justice
Hasan Jabbarah—Finance
Col. Fawzi Silo—Defense

June 6: Howard Kennedy, Director of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, warned the Government that if Syria continued to interfere with the transport of relief supplies to Jordan the goods would be brought in through Israel. Deliveries to Jordan had been impossible since the third week in May.

June 20: The Arab News Agency reported that the Syrian police had fired on Communist demonstrators in Aleppo, wounding 13 who were protesting the May 25 arms statement of the Western Powers.

June 27: 80 persons were killed and 300 seriously injured in an explosion of a fuel depot near Homs.

July 8: The Government notified the UN that it would adhere to all resolutions denouncing aggression, with special reference to Korea.

July 31: Syria and Jordan protested to the UN that Israel had deliberately violated the armistice agreements signed with the neighboring Arab Governments. Both protests were made in support of earlier Lebanese claims that an Israeli pilot had fired on a civil craft.

Aug. 1: Lieut. Col. Muhammad Nasr, Air Force Commander who helped negotiate the Israel armistice, was wounded fatally.

Turkey

1950

June 4: After a two-day debate the Grand National Assembly passed by 282 a vote of confidence in the Government. (*London Times*, June 5.)

June 6: Gen. Abdurrahman Nafiz Guran, Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, resigned. He was succeeded by Gen. Nuri Yamut, Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces. (*London Times*, June 7.)

June 8: The Government appointed Gen. Kurtcebe Noyan to succeed Gen. Nuri Yamut as the new Army Commander in Chief. Gen. Yamut was appointed Chief of the General Staff, Gen. Mahmut Berköz was appointed Secretary of the Supreme Defense Council, succeeding Gen. Noyan. The following were relieved of their posts: Admiral Mehmet Ali Ülgen, Navy Commander in Chief; Gen. Zaki Doğan, Air Force Commander in Chief; Gen. İzzet Aksalsur, Vice Chief of the General Staff; and Gen. Muzaffer Tuğsaval, Commander of the Second Command (Dardanelles). The former Chief of the General Staff, Abdurrahman Nafiz Guran, and Gen. Asim Tinaztepe, Commander of the First Army (Straits and Istanbul), were both shifted to the Army Council.

June 18: Under an Economic Cooperation Administration grant Turkey was allocated \$275,000 to carry out an extensive maritime rehabilitation project under the guidance of a 9-man team of American shipping and terminal experts. The Government was to deposit counterpart funds equal to the amount spent by ECA.

July 2: Editor Tevfik Yürüten set up a "Society of Volunteers" for fighting in Korea. 500 young Turks registered.

July 4: Israel and Turkey signed a trade agreement providing for an exchange of goods up to \$840,000. Turkey raised its *chargé d'affaires* in Tel Aviv to the rank of Minister.

July 7: The 27-year-old ban on religious radio programs ended with a 10-minute broadcast of readings from the Koran.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made two loans totalling \$16,400,000 to Turkey for port development and enlarging grain storage.

July 12: Seven agents of the U. S. Federal Bureau of Investigation arrived in Istanbul to work with the Turkish police against narcotic traffickers.

The Government reduced army conscription from three to two years. Three years' conscription remained for Special Services and the Navy.

July 15: A general amnesty bill giving freedom to 20,000 prisoners was approved by the Grand National Assembly.

July 25: Turkey offered the UN 4,500 fully armed troops to fight the North Koreans.

July 31: Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, former Foreign Minister, was appointed Turkish delegate to the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission.

Aug. 1: Turkey applied for membership in the North Atlantic pact, asking the U. S., Britain, and France to support its application.

Aug. 5: A contingent of 500 troops selected for service with the UN were warned to be "alert and ready" to leave around August 20.

Aug. 10: Bulgaria accused Turkey of trying to "stir up" the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

Aug. 12: The Bulgarian Government announced that it would deport 250,000 citizens of Turkish descent to Turkey within the next three months.

Aug. 15: The U. S. submarine rescue vessel *Bluebird* was turned over to the Turkish Government under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

Aug. 18: The UN formally accepted the offer of the Turkish Government to send 4,500 combat troops to the UN campaign in Korea.

Aug. 31: Turkey accepted an offer by Bulgaria to repatriate 250,000 persons of Turkish origin. The number represented about one-third of the Turks living in Bulgaria. (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Sept. 1.)

DOCUMENTS

The Electoral Law of Syria

Decree No. 17. September 10, 1949¹

(Text)

CHAPTER I. NUMBER OF DEPUTIES

Article 1. The headquarters of each Muhafaza,² with every Nahiya and village under its jurisdiction, as well as every Qadha, shall form an electoral district.

Article 2. The electoral district shall elect one deputy for every 30,000 Syrian inhabitants or for a fraction of population exceeding half that number.

An electoral district which does not contain 30,000 but not less than 15,000 shall elect one deputy.

The Qadha which does not contain 15,000 shall be joined to the nearest neighboring Qadha headquarters in the Muhafaza, or to the Muhafaza headquarters itself. These sections joined together shall then constitute one electoral district.

Article 3. A number of parliamentary seats shall be assigned to non-Muslims in proportion to their number in each electoral district and as specified in the previous article.

Article 4.³ Nomadic tribes shall be repre-

sented by six deputies. The "Special Consultative Council for Nomadic Tribes" shall elect these six deputies from its literate members.

Article 5. The date for parliamentary elections shall be fixed by decree upon the proposal of the Minister of the Interior and the approval of the cabinet. This decree shall be published at least one month prior to the fixed date for elections.

Article 6. At least twenty days before elections, a decree shall be issued, upon the proposal of the Minister of the Interior, and with the approval of the cabinet, fixing the number of deputies for each electoral district and according to Articles 2 and 3 of this law. This decree remains effective during the period of parliament.

CHAPTER II. ELECTORS

Part I. Qualifications of the Elector

Article 7. Every Syrian, male and female, who completes the 18th year of his or her age in the beginning of January of the year of elections, shall have the right of suffrage. Each person shall vote in the electoral district where he is listed in the census register, provided that he enjoys his civil and political rights and that he is not deprived of his electoral competence.

Moreover, women must have at least a certificate of primary education in order to be allowed to vote. Separate polling centers shall be established for women voters.

Article 8. All persons deprived of their right of suffrage, according to Articles 63 and 66 of the Criminal Law, shall be prevented from voting.

¹ Published in the *Official Gazette*, No. 46, Sept. 12, 1949. The unofficial translation from the Arabic here published was prepared by George J. Tomeh, Syrian Legation, Washington, D. C.

² Syria is divided administratively into Muhafaza (province), governed by a Muhafez (governor); Qadha (district), governed by a Qaimmaqam; and Nahiya (sub-district), governed by a Mudir. Throughout this translation the Arabic terms will be used.

³ Article 4 was abrogated by Decree 82, Nov. 2, 1949, published in the *Official Gazette*, No. 57, Nov. 7, 1949. By the new decree, 9 seats were assigned to nomadic tribes in Syria. Their election was to be held in accordance with the provisions of Electoral Law No. 325, May 31, 1947, and its amendments.

Article 9. The right of suffrage shall be suspended for the following persons:

- a. Those in prison who have not been released.
- b. The mentally ill, during their period of sickness.
- c. Those persons convicted according to Article 65 of the Criminal Law.

Article 10. Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the army, the gendarmerie, the police, the forces of security and persons attached to any organization of a military nature in all ranks, shall refrain from voting.

Part II. Electoral Registers

Article 11. During the first half of January of each year, a "census committee" for each electoral district shall arrange an electoral register containing the names of electors of that district.

Article 12. This committee shall be composed of:

- a. The director of municipality, or his deputy, as president.
- b. The officer of the census register, or the clerk of this office.
- c. A member to be delegated by the municipal council.
- d. A member to be delegated by the Qadha council.

Article 13. In arranging the above-mentioned registers, the census committee shall base its work on the census register and can seek the assistance of the Mudirs, the bodies of elders, and any other person or body whose help is deemed necessary.

Article 14. This committee shall put out, not later than the 15th of January, a unified register of electors containing their names, surnames and residence.

Article 15. These registers must not include persons described in Articles 8, 9 and 10 of this Law.

Article 16. The registers shall then be forwarded to the Muhafez or Qaimmaqam, who will post them in public places (government buildings, places of worship, public squares, Nahiya seats and villages) and publish them until the 15th of January.

Article 17. Any person whose name was omitted from the electoral list without justification, or because of an error occurring in his census register, has the right to ask that his name be listed or to object to the undue registration of any other person.

Article 18. The petition of objection shall be submitted to the committee of inspection not later than the end of January.

This committee shall be formed in the headquarters of the Muhafaza with the Muhafez as chairman, and the district attorney and the director of finance as two members; when formed in the headquarters of the Qadha, the Qaimmaqam shall act as chairman of the committee, and the justice of the peace and the director of finance as the two members.

Article 19. The committee of inspection must decide on the petitions within five days of their submission to it; the decisions of the committee can be appealed within three days to the court of the region. The court must, within five days, decide finally on the matter. Petitions of objections are exempt from all fees.

Article 20. The committee of inspection shall put out final and comprehensive lists of all electors of an electoral district. These lists shall be published as specified in Article 16 of this Law.

Article 21. Every Syrian whose name was omitted from the electoral lists has the right, within five days of the fixed date for elections, to request the justice of the peace to register his name.

The justice of the peace shall decide within five days at most whether to order the registration of the applicant or not, after checking on the qualifications mentioned in Article 7, and disqualifications mentioned in Articles 8, 9 and 10 of this Law.

Petitions and decisions shall be exempt from fees and stamps.

CHAPTER III. CANDIDACY FOR PARLIAMENT

Part I. Qualifications for Candidates

Article 22. A candidate for parliament must fulfill the following conditions:

- a. He must have been a Syrian national for the last ten years at least.

- b. He must be a male elector listed in the electoral registers.
- c. He must have completed his 30th year of age at the beginning of January of the year of elections.
- d. He must have passed the fifth primary grade, or obtained a certificate of primary education, or completed a course of study equivalent to either of them.
- e. He must stand for elections in one electoral district only.

Article 23. Government staff defined in the "basic law of officials" who receive salaries from the government treasury or from other public treasuries under its jurisdiction, cannot become candidates in the electoral district where they perform their functions, until three months after their resignation from office.

If a government official stands for elections in another electoral district from where his office is and succeeds, he must cease to work. An interim official shall be appointed for the vacancy until the election of the former official has been finally pronounced valid.

The elected official has then to choose, within five days of his election, either to remain in the government service or to become a deputy. If he chooses the latter, his right to his government office ceases to exist; and if not, he shall be returned to his office automatically.

Article 24. Undersecretaries and directors-general of the various ministries, presidents, advisers, members and attorney-generals of the Higher Court of Appeal, the "conseil d'état," the "cour des comptes" and directors of municipalities in every Qadha and Muhafaza cannot qualify for candidacy unless they resign from their offices three months prior to the publication of the decree fixing the date for elections.

Article 25. It is not permissible to hold simultaneously a deputy seat and a public office in which the salary is paid from the government treasury or from municipalities. Exception, however, is made of the members of the teaching faculty of the Syrian University who do not have an administrative function in it.

Article 26. A deputy shall be considered to have resigned from parliament if he accepts an office in the government.

It is, however, possible to delegate a deputy to an unclassified, temporary foreign mission for a period not exceeding six months, and not renewable.

Part II. Procedure for Candidacy

Article 27.⁴ A candidate shall submit a written declaration to the Muhafez or Qaimmaqam within five days of the publication of the decree fixing the number of deputies and get a temporary receipt of acknowledgement for it.

The Muhafez or the Qaimmaqam shall ascertain that the applying candidate fulfills the conditions for candidacy mentioned in Article 21.

Thereupon the candidate shall get, within five days at the most, a final receipt of acknowledgement in which the day and hour of his application are to be mentioned.

If the Muhafez or the Qaimmaqam refrain from giving such a receipt within the specified period, the candidate has the right to object by petition — exempt from fees — to the highest court in the Muhafaza or Qadha headquarters and to the First Court of Appeal in the capital. The court must render a final judgment on such objections within five days.

Article 28. Every elector has the right to object on the validity of candidacy. These objections cannot be submitted except to a special appellate court described in Article 53 of this Law, which has the right to decide finally on cases arising from the election of deputies.

Part III. Campaign Literature

Article 29. An officially acknowledged candidate can issue pamphlets announcing his candidacy, explaining his aims, plans and everything that concerns the program for his work. All such pamphlets are to be signed by the candidate, and three copies of each shall be submitted to the Muhafez or Qaimmaqam.

Political parties and organizations can issue such publications provided they are duly signed by their legal representatives.

⁴ Article 27 was amended by Decree 78, Oct. 30, 1949, published in the *Official Gazette* 56, Oct. 30, 1949. The amendment adjusted the various time limits mentioned in Article 27, and was applicable to the election of November 15, 1949, only.

Article 30. Announcements, writings, pictures and photographs of any sort for propaganda purposes during the electoral campaign cannot be posted on the walls of public or private buildings. Persons who violate these instructions shall be prosecuted according to Article 737 of the Criminal Law.

Article 31. Campaign literature shall be exempt from stamps.

CHAPTER IV. PROCEDURE FOR ELECTIONS

Article 32. Deputies shall be elected directly by the people and by secret ballot.

Article 33. Quarters in cities and towns, and Nahiyas in Qadhas shall be considered polling centers, provided the number of electors in each center does not exceed 1,000. If a polling center contains more than 1,000, it shall be divided provided the number of electors in each is not less than 500. If one village or more contain less than 500 electors, and if the distance between these villages and the nearest polling center exceeds 50 kilometers, the Minister of the Interior can establish in them a separate polling center.

The Muhafez and the Qaimmaqam shall issue in their respective headquarters, and at least fifteen days before elections, decrees designating the polling centers and containing lists of electors for each of them.

Candidates have the right to object to the decrees of the Muhafez to the Minister of the Interior; and to the decrees of the Qaimmaqam to the Muhafez.

In a small Qadha which is not subdivided into Nahiyas, polling centers shall be established in its villages in proportion to electors, as specified above.

Article 34. Polling centers, in the headquarters of each Muhafaza, Qadha and Nahiya, shall be supervised by a committee composed of three persons: the chairman, who shall be nominated by the Muhafez or Qaimmaqam; the Mukhtar; and another member to be chosen from the municipal council, or the Qadha council or officials' council. Judges, their aides and teachers shall be given preference to others. The members of these electoral committees shall swear to the justice of the

peace to deliver their task in honesty, equity and absolute neutrality.

If a member of the committee is absent, its chairman chooses from the electors a new member. If all the committee is absent, the Muhafez or the Qaimmaqam must proceed immediately to nominate another committee, and its newly appointed members shall be sworn in by the highest administrative chief in the region.

Article 35. There shall not exist between the chairman of the committee or anyone of its members on the one hand, and a candidate of the electoral district on the other, a kinship closer than the fourth degree.

Article 36. The chairman of the committee shall ensure the maintenance of order. He shall have judicial authority within the polling center and may seek the assistance of security forces when necessary. The Muhafez or Qaimmaqam has the right to inspect the elections.

Article 37. Every candidate, or one who represents him by virtue of a signed letter legalized by the Muhafez or Qaimmaqam, is entitled to attend and watch the voting operation and counting of votes. Nobody else has this right.

Article 38. Voting begins at 7:00 a.m. and ends at 7:00 p.m. if voters cease to arrive. Otherwise voting shall go on, but not later than 10:00 p.m. under any circumstances.

Article 39. If the total number of electors in all polling centers of one electoral district reaches 60%, voting in that district is considered completed; if not, the voting boxes shall be sealed by the seal of the electoral committee and the representatives of candidates; the latter, along with security officers, shall guard the voting boxes.

Next day the boxes shall be unsealed at 7:00 a.m. in the presence of the electoral committee and the representatives of candidates. Voting shall be resumed till 4:00 p.m., and the number of electors who so far have exercised their right to vote shall be considered enough.

Article 40. Each elector comes to the polling center where his name is registered. The chairman of the electoral committee verifies the elector's name from the electoral register and from his identity card. Thereafter, the chairman signs the identity card of the elector

and gives him a white paper carrying the seal of the Muhafaza or Qadha, upon which the elector writes the names of the candidates for whom he is voting. If an elector is illiterate, he shall employ a member of the committee to write for him under the supervision of the chairman of the committee, and he himself casts the paper in the voting box. Thereupon the chairman checks his name on the register.

Contrary to the ruling of the previous paragraph, officials residing outside their electoral district can vote in the polling center of the seat of their offices; similarly, members of an electoral committee can vote in the polling center to which they have been assigned. In both cases, the names of these electors shall be added to the electoral register of the center where they vote, as specified in the previous paragraph.

Article 41. The voting paper shall contain on one of its two pages the names of candidates as they appear in the receipts of acknowledgement for candidacy described in Article 27 hereof.

Article 42. Voting shall take place on the basis of the list of candidates. The elector must choose a number of them equal to the number of seats in the electoral district, as limited in the decree mentioned in Article 6 hereof.

Article 43. When voting is completed, the electoral committee shall count the voting papers publicly without reading them. If there be found that the number of the papers is 5% more or less than those who actually voted, election in that center shall not be considered valid and shall be repeated the next day.

If there be found that the excess is less than 5%, a number of voting papers proportionate to this excess must be withdrawn without reading the contents.

No deficiency will, however, be taken into consideration if it is less than 5% of the total number of electors noted in the register as having voted.

Article 44. Voting papers that are empty or absolutely illegible or do not carry the seal of the committee shall be considered void and cannot be included in the total of votes. They must nevertheless be attached to the minutes.

If a voting paper contains more names of

candidates than is decided by the decree fixing the number of deputies, the excess shall be cancelled from the bottom of the list in proportion to each category in the electoral district.⁵

If the voting paper contains fewer names of candidates than is required, it shall be considered in favor of those voted for. If any list contains the name of a non-candidate, this name shall be disregarded only; and if the same name be written more than once, it shall be reckoned once only. In either case the voting paper is valid.

The voting papers which do not state clearly the name of a candidate, but contain enough indications to remove any ambiguity, shall be considered valid.

Article 45. The electoral committee shall render judgment on all objections submitted to it with regard to the voting operations.

The decisions of the electoral committees can be appealed to the central electoral committee⁶ which gives a final judgment. Such objections shall not cause a delay in the progress of elections.

If the central electoral committee decides that election in one of the polling centers is not valid because it violates the rules of this law, the Minister of the Interior shall issue an order fixing a date for reelections in that center.

Article 46. The counting of votes shall take place continuously in the polling center. Results shall be declared publicly. Then the electoral committees shall draw up statements recording in particular the names of candidates, the number of votes which each one of them obtained, and the decisions and measures taken during the elections. These shall be referred immediately to the central electoral committee of the electoral district.

Article 47. In the Muhafaza this committee is to be composed of the Muhafez as

⁵ In one electoral district there might be Muslim and non-Muslim candidates. If, for instance, the required number of deputies in one electoral district is 3 for Muslims and 2 for non-Muslims and the voting paper contained names of 5 Muslim candidates and 3 non-Muslims, the chairman of the electoral committee must cancel the last two Muslim names and the last non-Muslim name.

⁶ See Article 47.

chairman, and the attorney general and two judges as members; in the Qadha, the Qaimmaqam as chairman, and the justice of the peace and a member of the municipal council as two members.

Article 48. Upon receipt of the statements from all polling centers, the central committee immediately meets; its task shall be to add the results in the presence of candidates or their representatives, to draw up a comprehensive statement, to declare those final results and to submit a copy of its statement to the Minister of the Interior.

Article 49. Candidates shall be classified according to the number of valid votes which they obtain. The candidate who obtains the most votes, provided that the number of those votes is not less than 40% of the valid votes cast, shall be considered successful.

If one seat or more remain vacant, elections shall be repeated one week later among the candidates who received more than 10% from the total of valid votes cast. The candidate who this time receives a majority of votes shall be considered successful.

Article 50. If two candidates receive an equal number of votes, the decision shall be by lot.

Article 51. If the number of candidates in one district does not exceed the number of deputies which are to be elected for that district, no voting takes place and the candidates shall be elected.

Article 52. The final results shall be announced by a decree, as they were recorded in the statements, within three days at most after the Minister of the Interior receives all the records of elections.

Article 53. The validity of elections shall be decided upon by a special appellate court presided over by the first judge of the higher court of appeal or any one who takes his place, and composed of four other judges following him in grade as members, together with three deputies elected from the parliament by secret ballot and on whose elections no objections exist.

Article 54. The president of parliament

shall call this special court to meet as soon as the three deputies, who are to be members of this court, have been elected. The court then investigates all charges laid against elections of deputies within three months at most of their submission. This court shall have all authority necessary for its action, and its decisions shall be irrevocable.

CHAPTER V. CRIMES CONNECTED WITH ELECTIONS

Article 55. Persons committing crimes because of elections shall be prosecuted according to Articles 319-324 of the Criminal Law.

Article 56. Every person who has been asked to cooperate on a committee, or requested to help in the execution of electoral operations and refuses to cooperate shall be prosecuted in accordance with Article 756 of the Criminal Law.

CHAPTER VI. TRANSITORY AND FINAL DECISIONS

Article 57. Contrary to the stipulations of Article 24 hereof, the presidents, the advisers, the members and attorney generals of the higher court of appeal, the "conseil d'état," the "cour des comptes" who have been prevented from exercising their right to candidacy in accordance with this law, can nevertheless enjoy this right if they resign their offices one week after its publication. This exception to Article 24 shall be effective only during the first electoral session which follows the publication of this law.

Article 58. The present electoral registers shall be modified in accordance with this Law.

Article 59. The Minister of the Interior shall issue all decisions and instructions necessary for the execution of this Law.

Article 60. All previous texts contrary to this Law, and in particular the previous electoral Law No. 325 of May 21, 1947, and its modifications, shall be considered void.

Article 61. This Law is to be published and communicated to all concerned for execution.

Documents and Situation Reports

(A Selected Listing)

General

Report to the Economic and Social Council on Statistics of Narcotics for 1948 and the Work of the Board in 1949. Geneva: UN Permanent Central Opium Board, 1949. 64 pages. 60¢.

Egypt

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ECONOMIC REVIEW

The Sterling-Dollar Oil Problem

DURING the past two years the major American oil companies have been faced with a partial loss of their world markets. This threatened (and to a certain extent actual) loss was due to British attempts, through limiting the sale of "dollar" oil in the sterling area and elsewhere, to conserve dollars. Nowhere are British and American oil interests so intertwined as in the Middle East; therefore nowhere else has the problem which this British policy created presented quite the complexities it has in this area. Moreover, any problem affecting the sale of oil produced in the Middle East — that is to say, Iran, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Peninsula — is likely to have repercussions upon the local governments, and so a bearing on British and American political interests. This is because the limiting factor in the Middle East oil picture is not production but sales. Any reduction in sales, and thus in royalty payments, can have serious effects upon the economies of the countries concerned, and upon company-government relations.

Of the five major companies producing oil in the Middle East, only two may be said to be "purely" British or American. The British company is the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), a majority of whose stock is owned by the British Government. This is the largest producer; a close second is the American-owned Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), composed of the Texas Company, Standard Oil of California, Socony-Vacuum, and Standard of New Jersey. The other three Middle East companies are in one way or another mixed British-American concerns. The first two components of Aramco comprise the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but since Bahrain is in the sterling area, its sales receipts have always been subject to British financial regulations. The Kuwait Oil Company is owned jointly by the Gulf Oil Corporation

and Anglo-Iranian, and is therefore half American and half British. Of the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), which produces oil in Iraq and Qatar, slightly less than one-half is owned by British interests (Anglo-Iranian and Royal Dutch Shell), slightly less than one-quarter by American interests (Socony-Vacuum and Standard of New Jersey, the third and fourth components of Aramco), and the remainder by French and private interests.

It should be noted that none of the oil produced in the Middle East may be termed solely "dollar" oil or "sterling" oil. The British companies have to purchase much of their equipment from the United States; moreover, the British Treasury, by the terms of a financial agreement with the Government of Iran, converts Iran's sterling earnings into dollars, if so requested, for imports which cannot be supplied from the sterling area. This alone is estimated to be costing Britain \$100 million a year. Probably the "purest" of the Middle East companies is Aramco, but even Aramco oil can have a large sterling content, if the company so desires, through the purchase of equipment in the sterling area, the payment of local wages in sterling, and so forth.

Great Britain estimated at the end of 1949 that the net dollar cost of petroleum transactions in the sterling area for 1950 would amount to \$625 million. Of this, the dollar cost of worldwide British oil company operations was expected to be \$275 million, while the remainder (\$350 million) represented American company operations in the sterling area. The total dollar expenditure for oil constituted about one-half of Britain's dollar deficit. It is hardly remarkable, therefore, that when the British companies, at the beginning of 1950, found themselves in a position (through expanded facilities) to produce some 4 million more tons than the prospective requirements of their normal markets, the

British Government decided to reduce by this amount the 13 million tons formerly purchased by the sterling area from American companies.¹ As a matter of fact, during 1949 British regulations and bilateral trade agreements had already made it increasingly difficult for American companies to sell oil both in the sterling area and in other countries where such agreements pertained. On January 1, 1950, the British Government followed up this trend by issuing an order to sterling area importers to reduce their purchase of dollar oil as sterling oil became available. Sterling oil was defined as oil produced by British companies, and dollar oil as that produced by American companies, regardless of the relative sterling and dollar cost component.

With regard to the sale of Middle East oil by American companies, the Gulf Oil Corporation was little affected, for by a previous agreement (still unchallenged) it sold the larger part of its half of Kuwait Oil Company production to Shell. These dollars are figured into the dollar cost of Kuwait Oil Company production, which is regarded as sterling oil. The American companies operating in the Middle East which were most directly hit by the British order were the component companies of Aramco, Bahrein Petroleum, and the American partners in Iraq Petroleum: i.e., Standard of California, the Texas Company, Standard of New Jersey, and Socony-Vacuum.² By the order of January 1 these companies not only were not permitted to market in the sterling area for dollars if sterling oil was available — they were not even allowed to do so for sterling, since according to the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of 1945 such sterling would be convertible to dollars. It was no problem for Great Britain to enforce the order since sterling area countries were already short of dollars and glad to save what they had for commodities unobtainable in any other way.

The British order and its threatened effect on American company sales highlight the con-

flict of U.S. interests involved in attempts to close the dollar gap. It is manifestly impossible, except in conditions of an expanding world market (which did not pertain in 1949), to increase British sales for dollars without adversely affecting the similar sales of American companies. In the case of the Middle East, not only the companies were affected. Decreasing sales and cutbacks in production (which already had begun to take place in 1949 and the early part of 1950 as the result of tightened British restrictions) meant less royalties for the oil producing states, with possibly unfortunate results for relations between them and the United States. There was thus first a conflict between the national interest of the United States in reestablishing a healthy world economy and the private interest of a particular industry; and secondly, a conflict between that national worldwide economic interest and the political interest in cordial relations with the Middle East states.

However, the objections which the American companies entertained toward the British order of January 1, 1950, were not directed against a policy of reducing the dollar deficit, although this was the fundamental cause of the restrictions being placed on their sales activities. Their criticism was rather directed toward what they regarded as Britain's discrimination against them in favor of its own companies, since the order was based on the nationality of the producing company and not on the dollar content of the oil. While it is true that "sterling" (i.e. British-produced) oil has an average dollar content only one-fourth that of "dollar" oil, the companies pointed out that they could, if they wished, reduce the dollar content of the oil they produced through the increased purchase of sterling equipment; moreover, that any sterling realized from sales would not necessarily have to be convertible. It was along this line that they sought a solution with the British Government. Concurrently, talks began on a government level to see if an over-all compromise might not be possible.

The talks on a government level have not as yet reached a final conclusion. The latest American proposal is that U.S. companies be permitted to compete for sale in sterling areas to the extent to which their products would be

¹ Two-thirds of the expected surplus was Anglo-Iranian crude.

² The order did not affect the ability of Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum to resell oil purchased from the AIOC under their 20-year purchase agreement dating from 1946, since this was still regarded as "sterling" oil.

replaced if the British order went into full effect. The companies would then be reimbursed in dollars to the extent of the dollar cost of the surplus sterling oil their oil replaced; and the sterling which they earned would not be subject to conversion, but spent in the sterling area. The British have given no final reply to this proposal, but have agreed to limit their replacement order to 4 million tons at least until 1952.

More concrete progress has been made in specific agreements between individual American companies and the British Government, and in the U.S. companies' efforts to increase the sterling component of their production cost; this last has been particularly true of the Arabian American Oil Company. In general, the company agreements have followed the line of accepting nonconvertible sterling which would be spent in the sterling area for equipment and services associated with oil operations. The question as to whether the oil which Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum received from their participation in IPC was dollar oil or sterling oil was settled by an agreement reached between the companies and the British Government early in June. The companies would be permitted to sell their IPC oil for sterling in the sterling area, subject to normal British taxation; IPC would accept sterling for this oil. For oil which the

Companies sold outside the sterling area, IPC would be reimbursed 25% in dollars and the remainder in sterling. The American companies' sterling earnings were, of course, non-convertible. Such agreements as these, coupled with increased British consumption through the accompanying removal of gasoline rationing, are estimated to have safeguarded, for the time being, almost 2.5 million of a possible 3.8 million ton drain.

A further relieving factor has been that the British oil surplus is not so great as was forecast, largely because of increased world consumption. A possible further avenue for relief is in a revised U.S. oil import policy permitting the foreign-producing American companies to bring oil into the United States in quantity. All moves in this direction, however, are bitterly fought by the independent companies whose production is centered in the United States and whose interests are strongly represented in the Congress. A further beneficial step might be the lowering of the world price of dollar oil. This step is one which the oil companies have not yet taken, possibly out of fear of the repercussion on U.S. production and present import duties. Nevertheless, it seems likely that with the easing of the oil surplus and the various company arrangements being made, at least a *modus vivendi* will be worked out.

BOOK REVIEWS

Travellers in the Levant

Elizabeth Monroe

THERE ARE two attitudes to travel. To some, it is bought at the price of discomfort and worry, and only undertaken in pursuit of knowledge, health or trade. "This is the method of travelling in these countries, and these are its pleasures and amusements. Few indeed in comparison with the many toils and fatigues; fewer still with regard to the perils and dangers that actually beset us." Thomas Shaw, chaplain to the British Consul at Algiers, by his *Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (1757) belongs to this category. He has his counterpart in all centuries. But to others, a journey, however arduous, is life and the pursuit of happiness. "I am a warm advocate of travelling whenever it is possible and I fancy that something good always sticks," writes Shaw's contemporary, Alexander Jardine, in his *Letters from Barbary* (1788). Temperament, of course, partly accounts for the difference between their views. But there is more to it than that. At some date in the 18th or early 19th century — the time varies from country to country because it has to do with the safety of Eastern travel — a journey to the Levant ceased to be a matter of piety or duty. People, if they were rich enough, began to go out of curiosity and for pleasure.

Both before and after this arbitrary dividing line, the number of books they wrote is immense. But before the date when the grand tourist began to tour, the number of readable books is few. The bulk are by pilgrims, and pilgrims seldom make observant writers. Either they are travelling to expiate some crime which is constantly in their thoughts, or else their eyes are glued to the ground in search of relics,

or, in later centuries, their whole attention is devoted to the identification of Bible sites. Even the eye-witness historians of the Crusades have little time or use for native life. Of the medieval chroniclers, the most interesting and detailed in his account of local habits is a Jew called Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in Navarre, who set out in about 1160 to inspect the Jewish communities in the East. He travelled far further than was usual for any Christian pilgrim, going to Baghdad, Persia, and Nubia as well as to the Levant. His report, now known as *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, gives, usually from personal observation, a better account of local conditions of life and trade than is available for several centuries thereafter. Christian pilgrims were seldom so accurate because few of them stick to what they had seen for themselves. They liked to add to their account of the Holy Land descriptions of some at least of the surrounding countries. These, based on hearsay, stretch credulity to the limit. From them spring fables such as the famous tale of Prester John, which held Europe spellbound. The classic of the period, and the book most responsible for such stories, is the *Book of Sir John Mandeville* which was a best seller throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. Mandeville was both a pilgrim and a soldier of fortune. He saw for himself, and fairly accurately described, Jerusalem and the country around the Dead Sea. But elsewhere he inextricably mixes fact and fancy. Upon Ararat, the ark is stuck and "men may see it from afar in clear weather"; farther east, rivers contain "male and female diamonds" that marry and multiply; Prester John's palace was topped "with two round

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pommels of gold in each of which are two large carbuncles which shine bright in the night."

With the ultimate failure of the Crusades, and later the discovery of the New World, interest in the Levant lapsed for a while. The generation of the Renaissance looked no farther than Rome and Greece. But by the end of the 16th century English, French, and Dutch traders such as Shakespeare's 'Master of the Tiger' were back at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo trying to wring concessions from the Turks, and vying for eastern luxuries in return for their silks and worsteds. The Turk seldom lived up to his promises; the capitulations secured by the French were, according to one British envoy, "like a piece of wett parchment that may be stretched any way."

Some of the best books in English on the local life of this period were written by persons connected with the British Levant Company. This Company obtained its first charter in 1581 and enjoyed two centuries of considerable prosperity. A hardheaded merchant called John Sanderson, whose *Travels in the Levant, 1584-1602*¹ gives in some detail the then terms of trade, shows that though a few men made fortunes, the great majority had to work hard for their living owing to Turkish rapacity or to losses in the Mediterranean through the attacks of seagoing footpads—French and English as well as Corsair. The Company, which did well at Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo, never had much success in Egypt, where, says Sanderson, the cost of living was especially high and where the local inhabitants, living far from the seat of government, were especial double dealers. There was also less market in Egypt than in Turkey for thick English cloths and fustians; the French did better, though in a single year the French traveller Jean de Thevenot (*Voyages en Europe, Asie et Afrique, 1655*)² saw the French Consul at Alexandria imprisoned several times and mulcted of 80,000 piastres. But Company work at Constantinople and Aleppo produced two very human accounts of the life of the times. The first, little known, is by

Thomas Dallam, a master organ builder. His *Diary (1599-1600)*³ tells how he took out to Constantinople the self-playing organ which was the Company's present to the new Sultan; during its erection, which took him some time as it was ruined by heat and "the working of the sea," Dallam noticed a good deal about local habits both inside and outside the seraglio. Better known, and deservedly so, is the Reverend Henry Maundrell's *Relation of a Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, 1797*.⁴ Maundrell was chaplain to the Company's Aleppo factory. He describes a life among the Turks as lived "with all possible quiet and safety and that is all we desire, their conversation being not in the least entertaining." Nevertheless they made themselves enough felt to oblige him and all his contemporaries to go about in Turkish dress for safety's sake. Both by date and upbringing Maundrell is a child of the age of reason. The river at Biblos in Lebanon runs red not from the blood of Adonis but owing to "a sort of minium or red earth washed into the river by the violence of the rain." He tests and explodes the theory, broadcast by Mandeville, that birds cannot fly over the Dead Sea. The hole beneath the altar of the Greek convent at Jerusalem which housed the root of the tree of the True Cross is worshipped only by people "so much verier stocks than itself." His scepticism is the fashion with almost all his contemporaries; with Richard Pococke in his *Description of the East (1737)*; with the Frenchman Volney in his *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783-85*; and with Henry Buckingham in his *Travels in Palestine, Bashan, and Gilead in 1815-16*. But it is accompanied by a practical turn of mind. These writers are beginning to drop hints for other voyagers. "It is advisable for a pilgrim to carry his little tent with him." "A traveller, although he know a little of the language, cannot want [i.e. be without] servants, who must have been previously in those parts which he means to visit."

But there is still room for a pilgrim whose

³ Published in J. T. Bent, *Early Voyages in the Levant (1893)*.

⁴ Reprinted in Vol. X of *Pinkerton's General Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1811)*.

⁵ Reprinted *ibid*.

¹ Published by the Hakluyt Society in 1931.

² Amsterdam, 1727.

sharpest impression is that of the sanctity of the Holy Places and the continuity of worship at the same shrines. Francois-René de Chateaubriand, the French reactionary against the Revolution, already the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*, visited Jerusalem in 1806-7. He has left in his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem* a description of the city which for those who prefer romantic to astringent reading, cannot be bettered for accuracy or for purity of style.

The traveller for travel's sake, as opposed to the traveller after trade or shrines, is a rarity before 1800. Perhaps the book of that type most worth reading before that date is George Sandys' *Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610*, though it is — like so many of the travel books of his century — overburdened with the detailed history of each country and monument from its origin to his own day. Soon after 1800, the tourist in the Levant becomes almost a commonplace, for by 1830 an accumulation of events had greatly reduced the risks and difficulties of the journey. The Napoleonic Wars had revealed that the Levant was not far away. The accession of the Albanian Mehemet Ali to power in Egypt in 1805 had opened that country to foreigners. The Battle of Navarino in 1827 had put an end to Turkish sea power, and reduced the danger of Corsairs. By 1840 the P. & O. was running regular steam packets to Alexandria. Simultaneously, appetites were whetted by peeps at the wonders at the other end of the trail. Napoleon's adventures had produced the gilt sphinxes on Empire furniture. In 1825, Claudius Rich's amazing collection of Assyrian antiquities and Syriac manuscripts reached the British Museum. (Rich, who at 21 was appointed first British Resident in Baghdad, died of cholera in Persia in 1821, but had already completed his *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*.) The Suez Canal project was in the wind. In 1836 Chesney, author of the *Narrative of the ill-fated Euphrates Expedition*, set out to open an extra passage to India and to "restore life and prosperity to a region renowned for its fertility in ancient times." From now on, the plague, cholera, and the risk of an uncomfortable term in the lazaretto are the chief deterrents to the casual traveller.

Out of the mass of travel books which

greater security helped to produce, the four which are the most enjoyable at once became best sellers, and worthily so. At least two sell well today. All four are the result of journeys in the 1830's. They are Kinglake's *Eothen*, Warburton's *The Crescent and the Cross*, the French Poet Lamartine's *Voyage en Orient*, and the British diplomat Robert Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*.

Eliot Warburton was an Irishman of wit and means with an infinite appetite for travel and a capacity for carefree idleness while he was about it. He is the gayest of the four, but his style dates the most. Kinglake, who travelled earlier and therefore met the famous Lady Hester Stanhope before she died, saw *Eothen* go into four editions within a year. Lamartine, unlike these young dilettanti, is already a made man when he sets off. He is the conscious author, and strews poems, like pearls, on those who are good enough to entertain him. But of the four writers Curzon, whose purpose was a search for early Christian manuscripts, is the pleasantest and wittiest companion. "These slight sketches were written for my own diversion when I had nothing better to do and if they afford any pleasure to the reader under the same circumstances, they will answer as much purpose as was intended in their composition." Diversion is the operative word. His description of the first sight of Jerusalem (when everyone but the inhibited Britisher knows what to do in the way of demeanor and gesture) or of the behavior of the Coptic monks of the Wadi Natrun upon the discovery of supposed treasure, deserve a place on anyone's list of 'best passages.' With such ease do these sophisticated travellers get about that they impart a slightly naïf tang to the "*Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (1850) in which Lieutenant Commander Lynch, U.S.N., asserts that "ten miles east of a line drawn from Jerusalem to Nablus, the tribes roam uncontrolled and rob and murder with impunity." So they might, but not if the traveler provided himself with the proper firmans and introductions, as Buckingham's friend Bankes discovered to his cost when he tried to get to Palmyra without bothering to carry the letter to the Sheikh of

the Anazeh given to him by Lady Hester Stanhope.

After 1850, the track is so well beaten that Curzon, in the 1865 edition of his *Monasteries*, comments that "the adventures which happened to me thirty years ago are now never met with and these pages describe a state of affairs so entirely passed away that the account of them seems to belong to a much more remote period than the year 1833." And so one might think from reading of the subsidized archeological expeditions, the luxury steamer trips on the Nile, and the undignified scramble for antiquities that are the subject matter of the diaries and archeological works of the 'sixties and 'seventies. But a traveller had only to leave the river or the main track still to run risks greater, even, than those taken by Curzon or Kinglake in the 'thirties. Richard Burton — a writer more prolific than he is readable — risked everything when in 1853 he performed the journey that is described in his *Pilgrimage to Mecca and El Medinah*. Disguised, all the way from Southampton, as Haji Abdullah, a Persian, he even succeeded in "sketching and writing in his white burnous the whole time he was prostrating and kissing the Holy Stone." Twenty-three years later the journey was still as dangerous when in 1876 Doughty performed the hajj that is the subject of *Arabia Deserta*.

No summary even as brief as this would be complete without mention of two special categories of Eastern traveller — the lady and the artist. There is not a jot of similarity between the characters of the five or six women who in the 18th and 19th centuries preceded Gertrude Bell and Freya Stark as writers on their eastern travels. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was the talented wife of a dull 18th century British ambassador to the Porte. She was intelligent and curious, but at the same time anxious to turn her observations in Turkey to account as a trump card in English social and artistic life; hence the elegant *Letters* with which she delighted and still delights her admirers. Lady Hester Stanhope, nearly a hundred years later, went east in search of a name for oddity. Even as a girl she had craved for distinction. When the death of William Pitt, her uncle, robbed

her of a great position as a political hostess, she migrated in 1810 to the Levant. Bold, good-looking, caustic and completely fearless, she was here able to cut the dash which, in England, no spinster could possibly have cut upon her money. Her megalomania was a byword. Even when she became an old and diseaseridden virago, every traveller paid her a visit in her retreat in Lebanon, or tried to. She picked and chose whom she saw. She wrote nothing herself, but her strange thoughts are well reflected in the *Memoirs* of her physician, Dr. Charles Meryon. Jane Digby, Lady Ellenborough — often bracketed with Lady Hester — shared with her only the quality of liking and getting on with Syrians. Married in girlhood to an unsuitable English peer, she became successively mistress to princes and a king, and wife to a Bavarian baron, a Greek count, and — moving steadily eastward — a minor sheikh of the Mezrab tribe in the desert beyond Damascus. Her family, shocked by her ways, destroyed all her papers when she died in Damascus in 1881. But the vestiges of the story have been collected, and it is well told in E. M. Oddie, *Portrait of Ianthe* (London, 1935). Isabel Burton was by contrast a tenacious one-man woman and centers her life and her writings upon her husband. Nevertheless, her *Inner Life of Syria* (London, 1875), although written in an intolerably arch style, contains a great deal of information about the Damascus of her day. But the charmer of the group is Lucie Duff Gordon. This human and intelligent Englishwoman was already gravely ill with consumption when in 1863 she first went up the Nile in search of warmth and dry air. Amusing, utterly without cant or that sense of English superiority that mars so many travel books, she solaced her lonely exile by writing to the family she had been obliged to leave. Her *Letters from Egypt* and *Last Letters from Egypt* were published by her daughters after her death.

Of artists, the two most worth studying are David Roberts and Edward Lear. The camera has killed at least one talent: most travellers in the 18th and early 19th centuries seemed capable of making a good sketch. The Christian Lebanese encouraged them and stood cheerfully about as romantic figures in the

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foreground. But in Palestine and beyond Jordan the inhabitants suspected any artist of plotting loot, or of possessing the evil eye. Mr. Bankes, who drew Jerash in Buckingham's company, was obliged to explain that "we were merely employed in writing a prayer on the appearance of the new moon, in the manner of the faithful." Even forty years later, Edward Lear complains that both in Hebron and Damascus "they threw stones at me whenever I drew." It is a wonder that he and Roberts were able to draw so much and so well. David Roberts' splendid work, mostly done in 1839-40, was published in lithograph in four immense volumes covering *Syria, Idumea, Arabia, and Egypt and Nubia*, which were issued in London in 1842. Lear's illustrated *Journals*, unfortunately, go no farther east than Greece and Albania, but his *Letters and Later Letters*, edited by Lady Strachey in 1902 and 1911, give some background to the immense quantity of agreeable watercolors which he made on journeys in the Levant in 1853 and 1867 respectively.

Any sweeping statement about these travellers in general is of course open to question. There are exceptions to every generalization. But, broadly speaking, there are two distinguishing marks between the 19th century travellers and their predecessors. The first is a

difference in attitude to callousness and cruelty. Sandys, early in the 17th century, sees men strung up without a tremor; even the gentle Maundrell is not greatly moved when he describes precisely how a man is impaled. Nineteenth century sensibility is keenly upset by horrors—for instance, by the ravages caused by Egyptian military service. "Man has his tyrant," writes Warburton, "whose influence is deadlier far than that of beasts, and 500,000 souls have withered from Egypt within the last ten years under the blight of conscription or oppression." "One's pity," adds Lucie Duff Gordon, "becomes a perfect passion when one sits among the people as I do, and sees all they endure."

The second distinction has to do with the travellers' estimate of the Arab character. For Buckingham, and even—at times—for Kinglake and Warburton, the Arab is a robber in a verminous burnous. As the century proceeds, and explorers like Burton and Doughty strike inland, the estimate changes. To Burton, and above all to Burton's wife Isabel, he becomes the splendid figure of the Kennington illustrations to Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. The "noble Arab" succeeds the debunked "noble savage" in a sentimental niche in English hearts. And there he holds his own for a hundred years.

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GENERAL

Oil in the Modern World, by Raj Narain Gupta, M. A. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1950. 170 pages. Rs. 8; \$2.00.

Though the author makes no such claims, the publishers describe *Oil in the Modern World* as "studded with the latest facts and figures," and "an invaluable reference guide to economists, statesmen, students of international affairs and oil magnates." Unhappily, it would be highly dangerous for anyone to rely

on much of the material presented. Mr. Gupta's facts are often wrong, and his figures, with some exceptions, so out of date that they fail to reflect major changes which have occurred in the world oil situation in recent years. Moreover, Mr. Gupta hardly mentions, and certainly fails to comprehend, the economics of the oil industry. Finally, his account of the development of the world's oil resources, chiefly by private capital on a competitive basis, is couched in unjustifiably tendentious terms.

Indeed, it appears that Mr. Gupta's preoccupation with what he calls "Russia's glorious example of the exploitation of her oil resources, with state capital," and with the "injustice" done Russia by Iran in refusing to grant an oil concession, colors and distorts much of what he has to say about world oil. This predisposition, plus Mr. Gupta's undoubted idealism and genuine concern for the peace of the world, leads him to propose a solution of the international oil problems which seems wholly impracticable in the world today. Mr. Gupta would not only abolish all existing concessions and provide that the exploitation of the oil resources of a country be carried on only by its own government or by its nationals (if necessary, with funds to be loaned by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), but he would also set up an "International Oil Control Council," which, among other things, would control the distribution and consumption of oil in the world, allocating to each country its respective quota of oil requirements from the nearest source and fixing and maintaining "almost a uniform price level in different countries, allowing for slight variations due to transportation charges." This body would also "prohibit the use of oil for war purposes or the manufacture of war materials," and stop "all supplies of oil to a country engaging or intending to engage in aggressive warfare against the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter." One need only look at the world situation today to realize the utter impossibility of implementing any such program, even if it were deemed desirable.

One need not be particularly concerned to have C. S. Gulbenkian identified as an American millionaire (it could be a typographical error), or to find the Ras Tanura refinery located on Bahrein Island, or to learn that the Arabian American Oil Company concession includes the rich Bahrein oil fields, or to be told that Standard of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum decided in 1947 to construct a 26-inch trans-Arabian pipeline from Eastern Arabia to Haifa—none of which statements is correct. But it is definitely disconcerting to read that after the discovery of oil in 1938, the Saudi Arabian Government, being unable to exploit this find because of lack of capital,

granted a concession to the Arabian American Oil Company. The Saudi Arabian concession was actually granted to the Standard Oil Company of California in 1933, and that company and its assignee, California Arabian Standard Oil Company, discovered oil in Arabia and spent approximately \$10 million before obtaining commercial production in October 1938.

As for Mr. Gupta's figures, space forbids discussion in any detail. In fairness it must be said that source material is probably difficult for him to obtain, although closer attention to the *Oil and Petroleum Year Book*, which he cites in his bibliography, would have saved him from many errors of fact. The author uses (with a few exceptions) pre-World War II (1938) figures, particularly in discussing the refining capacity of Europe. His figures on world oil production, which in some cases are more up to date, are still generally several years behind the latest available. The result of all this is that the book gives no real glimpse of the spectacular restoration and augmentation of Western Europe's refining capacity since the war, or of the wide displacement of Western Hemisphere oil in Europe by the vastly expanded oil production of the Middle East. Yet these are among the central developments in world oil of the past few years.

HARLEY C. STEVENS
San Francisco, California

Du Panarabism à la Ligue Arabe, by Michel Laissy. Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, G. P. Maisonneuve and Co., 1948. 248 pages.

Condensed writing is a difficult art. Unless the lack of detail is offset by a core of solid facts, condensation deteriorates into mutilation. M. Laissy has only partially escaped this danger in his *Du Panarabism à la Ligue Arabe*, where he undertakes the formidable task of packing 150 eventful years into a pocket-sized book of 210 pages. Appendices, a table of contents, a bibliography, and a map account for the remaining 38 pages. The book discusses the history of one of the most controversial political movements of modern times, the Arab League—a movement still in the process of unfolding. In so doing, it surveys

the history of the Arab Middle East from the rise of Mohammed Ali in Egypt to the partition of Palestine and its aftermath.

M. Laissy's book is at times marred by inaccurate writing which may spring from either a weakness for fanciful inference, or from a scant knowledge of facts, or from both. The following two instances are typical:

Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of Wahhabism, is described as a "neo-prophète." (page 36) This great 18th century Muslim religious leader, it will be recalled, was a reformer and not a prophet. He aimed at purging Islam of such practices as the visitation of tombs and belief in the intercession of saints. The substance of his teachings consisted of a return to the strict monotheism of early Islam.

Again, the appointment of Egypt's Badawi Pasha to the International Court of Justice seems sufficient reason for the author to confer upon him the title, "le plus grand juriste Egyptien." (page 158) Few persons acquainted with contemporary Egyptian legal thought would hazard such an opinion. While Badawi Pasha is admittedly one of his country's most distinguished jurists, he is by no means the lone star that M. Laissy's words imply. What about such men as Dr. Sanhoury Pasha and Dr. Mersi Pasha?

As already indicated, this condensed study is sometimes guilty of serious omission. In the section dealing with the Arab cultural revival many leading figures are ignored despite their lasting influence upon modern Arab thought. Such men as Muhammad Abduh, the champion of a modern reformulation of Muslim religious doctrine; Jurji Zaydan, the eminent grammarian and popularizer of Arab history; and Qasim Amin, the initiator and leader of the feminist movement, are not even mentioned by name. Such omissions are noticeable, also, in the partially annotated bibliography, where M. Laissy, for example, emphasizes the authoritativeness of George Antonius, whose book, *The Arab Awakening*, he often quotes with approval. He mentions Antonius' British nationality and long residence in the Middle East, but omits the scarcely less important fact of his Arab birth.

This book offers little to the serious student

of Middle Eastern affairs. The bulk of the sources upon which the author has based his study leaves little doubt as to the truth of this statement: 10 of the 15 books listed in the bibliography were written in English.

WADIE JWAIDEH
Washington, D. C.

ETHIOPIA

Travels in Ethiopia, by David Buxton. London: Lindsay Drummond, Ltd, 1949. 200 pages. 18s.

Ethiopia, to some extent, is still a land of mystery. True, you can get there easily enough. You fly in and are deposited at Addis Ababa, the capital. You transact your business and fly out again. As for getting about the Ethiopian countryside, very few Europeans or Americans, even those living there, have done it. Communications are difficult, and there are stories that once outside the sphere of influence of the Emperor, the natives are suspicious and unfriendly. The average outsider knows little of the country or its people. He may have heard of the legend about the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, and the Ethiopian Emperor claiming descent from their union. And there is the Italian invasion in the 1930's. That's about the sum total of his information.

In *Travels in Ethiopia*, David Buxton not only explodes many myths and misunderstandings, but paints a graphic picture of a unique country. Parts of Ethiopia, says Buxton, still offer scope for old-time exploration. Some of its numerous peoples are but names to ethnologists. No part of Africa has suffered so much or so long from ignorance and misunderstanding in the outside world. Bad books on Ethiopia are plentiful, good ones rare.

In the opening paragraph of his striking book, which contains no fewer than 72 pages of remarkable photographs, probably the finest collection on the country ever produced, he sets the scene:

The Ethiopian highlands rise up from the wastes of equatorial Africa like an island from the sea. There they stand in lonely isolation, for the surrounding wilderness has cut them off from the outer world more effectively than the sea itself. The map of Africa presents nothing else like this.

. . . The map alone tempts the traveller to a nearer view, and not for nothing. . . Here is an ancient, independent, Christian state set in the midst of the wilderness. Her people, surrounded by primitive tribes, claim a recorded history of 2000 years. . . Their ancient church has been the focus of national feeling and the trustee, as it were, of the national culture. They possess traditional arts, of western origin, associated with the church, and scriptures written in their own antique alphabet. . .

The son of the late Charles Roden Buxton, an English Member of Parliament, the author journeyed extensively through most parts of the country from 1942-45. He returned in 1946 and lived in one rural area for more than a year. During his original stay he was concerned officially with locusts, and unofficially with archeology "and these two pursuits, surprisingly enough, fitted in well together." Always he went with an enquiring mind and an eye for a good picture. He frankly says that his book is not a treatise on Ethiopia, but first and foremost a commentary on the photographs.

After giving a potted history of the country, he has set down his impressions during his wanderings, which were made sometimes by truck, and when the roads petered out, by mule. Usually he was alone, except for Ethiopian employees of the Anti-Locust Mission, and servants. He got to know the people — the priests, the hermits, the peasants, the merchants, the peaceful villagers, the fierce Danakil tribe — by staying with them, often for long times at a stretch. It was obvious that he was vastly attracted to the country. Buxton's journeys took him to areas never previously visited by Europeans and in the main he found the people courteous and hospitable. He records their customs and the way they lived, what their towns and villages are like, the great influence of the church, with its innumerable feast days — and fast days. He tells of the beauty of the central highlands, endowed by nature with perhaps the finest climate and some of the most splendid scenery in Africa, of the grandeur of the mountains, and of the awesome drop down to the desert plains.

To those with a hankering for archeology, legend and customs, this book is invaluable. Buxton made a particular study of the rock-hewn churches, which are among the oldest Christian churches in the world. He climbed

mountain-sides, swarmed up ropes to narrow openings in the rock, or burrowed deep in caves, to reach many of them. His stories of the ancient Coptic churches, with their ikons and their crudely fascinating paintings of such subjects as the martyrdom of the saints, lives of the apostles and hell-fire, together with strange legends which have become part of the church ritual, make enthralling readings. His style is simple and vivid, and in text and photographs he has made Ethiopia real and alive, instead of just a name on the map, as no book has ever done before.

JACK WHEELER
Khartoum, Sudan

INDIA

India and the United States, by Lawrence K. Rosinger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. 146 pages. \$2.75.

Whatever else Mr. Rosinger may have in the way of virtues, it is certain that he has discretion. If he had not, he would be unable to produce *India and the United States* in its present form. There are few avenues of literary effort in which more pitfalls exist than that in which the Occidental discusses the Orient. Mr. Rosinger, in writing of the enigmas of India and her favorite son, Jawaharlal Nehru, and their relations with U. S. A., has wisely stuck to mostly irrefutable facts. He does not seek to give the impression that he is an "expert," but at the same time he successfully conveys the idea that he knows whereof he writes.

India and the United States is a brief history of the political and economic relations of the two countries over the past quarter century. In 150 pages of eminently readable material one finds only two pages of pure statistics. This is a noteworthy achievement. Mr. Rosinger discusses American influence on the Partition Agreement of 1947 which created Pakistan and India, and it is to his credit that he succeeds in being objective. This reviewer doubts that there were no more snags than the author recognizes, but the omission of controversial angles of British-American-Indian action at that troubled time is another example of Mr.

Rosinger's discretion. This year of grace is no time for recrimination from any quarter.

To anyone not familiar with the standard of living and education in India, the oft-recurring phrase "politically conscious" used when referring to Indians may seem repetitious. But again discretion guides the pen. Mr. Rosinger knows that while the impact of American political and economic thought and action is felt in the India of New Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta, it has, so far, little or no significance for "India's teeming millions."

Mr. Rosinger seems convinced that India's foreign policy is one of enlightened self-interest, but one gets the impression that he shares with others the doubt as to whether the present administration is quite sure where these interests really lie. "India's course in all fields depends to a great extent on whether the people's standard of living is raised in the years immediately ahead." Mr. Rosinger will never write truer words. India will need assistance to accomplish this essential transition, but as for her own share, there will have to be efforts of the heart as well as the head.

India and the United States is well worth reading. It is factual and interesting, qualities which are by no means synonymous.

JOHN GONELLA
Washington, D. C.

Warren Hastings and British India, by Penderel Moon. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1949. 361 pages. \$2.00.

Independent India daily takes a more prominent part in world affairs. A working knowledge of its history, therefore, is no longer a luxury. Such knowledge should include the controversial story of Warren Hastings, which, in any case, always merits retelling. Mr. Penderel Moon recounts it in a factual, fair-minded, and readable way, and this handy-sized book is a good prelude to tackling the "brilliant inaccuracies" of Macaulay. It is not a book for the serious history specialist, but is an ideal introduction to a subject which has hitherto been more familiar to European than to American readers.

The personal story of Warren Hastings has great dramatic value of its own. It is remarkable that Hollywood has not seized on this

tale of the impoverished child of good family who, in an age of unparalleled nepotism, achieved fame by his own merit in a fabulous foreign land and returned to repossess the family estates. But Mr. Moon resists any temptation to dramatize the story and gives a sober version of its stirring events. The impression that the reader gets of Warren Hastings is of a tireless practical administrator, strangely uncorrupt and genuinely sympathetic to the native peoples over whom he unwillingly gained control.

Hastings was no imperialist. Unlike Cecil Rhodes he had no "vision of empire" and, as Mr. Moon rightly brings out, the results of his 35 years' administration were exactly the opposite of what he had intended. His efforts made possible, and indeed ultimately inevitable, firstly the extension of British dominion over the whole of India; secondly, the reduction of the Indian rulers to puppets; and thirdly, the establishment in India of an essentially British administration. Hastings desired none of these things and constantly and conscientiously worked against them. But the forces of the 18th century were too strong for him to resist, and the foundations of England's 150 years of dominion in India were firmly laid. The story is the classic example of the accidental nature of the British Empire.

Students of contemporary politics will find much that is modern in the story of Hastings' relations with his colleagues and with his chiefs in England. The lobbying by greedy interests, the "smear" campaigns and the political wire pulling, although so typical of the 18th century, also have a familiar ring at the present time. Some of Hastings' actions were indefensible, others ill judged, but on the whole he emerges strongly on the credit side. Perhaps his greatest service to his country was to retain his position in India at a time when all was confusion at home as a result of defeats in the American War of Independence. In these days of lightning communications and flying visits by government chiefs and advisers, one cannot but admire the constant initiative and sound judgment of Hastings, cut off from his London chiefs by thousands of miles of treacherous ocean. With few exceptions he was tormented by second-class assistants; and the

ablest of his colleagues, the mysterious Philip Francis, devoted all his very real talent to opposing Hastings and eventually to organizing the campaign which led to his weary trial and premature retirement.

Mr. Moon has appended a useful bibliography, and it is difficult to imagine that readers of his book will not wish to extend their knowledge of a subject to which they have been so excellently introduced.

DENIS A. GREENHILL
Washington, D. C.

India: Economic and Commercial Conditions in India, by Rowland Owen, C.M.G. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949. vii+233 pages. 4s.

This is one of the national volumes in the British Board of Trade's post-war *Overseas Economic Surveys*. The *Surveys*, a product of Britain's combined experience with and need for external markets, are designed "to present an overall appreciation of the economic and commercial position in the countries concerned" and to give detailed information "concerning the market possibilities for specific types of goods" and "developments in production and other factors which are affecting, or are likely to affect, the export trade of the United Kingdom." Thus they should be accurate, informative, and generally helpful. When the subject is India, whose conditions Britons have known intimately, the result should be a revealing study.

Mr. Owen has risen to this challenge in a most workmanlike fashion. Drawing on the resources of the United Kingdom Trade Commissioner's staffs in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, he has pieced together a picture of India's economy and commercial policy which is not in all respects happy, but which should be instructive to any businessman—American or British. For students, he has packed into 233 pages a great variety of detailed information. Readers will be cheered to discover that the book is written in English, not in officialese.

The volume includes a survey of general factors affecting production and trade in India;

an item-by-item review of India's resources and industries, with emphasis on their degree of dependence on external supplies; and helpful hints for foreign enterprise on how to do business in India. Mr. Owen pulls few punches in discussing the general economic pattern of post-independence in India, with its truncated territory and its new constitution, political organization, and trade and tariff policies. He is similarly direct in dealing with India's financial situation in 1948-49, involving such considerations as the budget, balance of payments, sterling balances, and the public debt; as he is in discussing population, health, housing, and other social questions affecting production and trade; and labor, technical training, and scientific services. Yet, he usually has the delicacy to voice what criticism he feels necessary in the words of official or non-official Indian statements, thus avoiding the impression of criticizing as an unsympathetic alien.

Mr. Owen's detailed discussion of specific industries, development projects, and communications programs, summarizes a heavy bulk of information ordinarily available only from diverse sources. It is sufficiently explicit to make the volume a handy reference work. Similarly, his sections on doing business in India set up useful guideposts for the newcomer.

Like all studies of the Indian economy, this volume reflects the paucity of dependable statistics. Because it was produced in early 1949, and therefore relies on figures of 1947-48, or, in some cases, 1948-49 at the latest, it also mirrors primarily the independence-cum-partition transition in India, rather than the more recent post-independence period. In some respects the treatment throws valuable light on features that have since become more prominent; in others, it tends to date the book. Aspects of India's financial and commercial policy and of attitudes toward foreign enterprise have continued to change. A new edition now, or after the 1951 census results are known, would be extremely useful. As it stands, however, Mr. Owen's work is of great value.

PHILLIPS TALBOT
New York, N. Y.

IRAN

Zeitenwende in Iran: Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen, by Wipert von Blücher. Biberach an der Riss: Koehler and Voigtländer, 1949. xii + 338 pages. 12.60 DM.

In his *Zeitenwende in Iran*, Wipert von Blücher, former German Minister in Tehran, presents his experiences and observations covering the period from 1915 to 1935. The book makes fascinating reading because the author was personally connected with Iran in one or another capacity during most of this time. *Zeitenwende in Iran* is *par excellence* a primary source for historical research. As such it is a valuable addition to other memoirs written by former envoys of Western powers in the Middle East, such as Kurt Ziemke's *Als Deutscher Gesandter in Afghanistan*, Maurice Fouchet's *Notes sur l'Afghanistan*, and Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen's *Diplomat in Peace and War*.

To the layman, practically everything in Blücher's book will be of interest inasmuch as he writes in simple, pleasant style and does not burden the reader with statistical data or other technicalities. A specialist will look for new revelations not yet available in other sources — and his search will be rewarded. Blücher gives, in chronological order, a good account of the activities of Prince Reuss and Count Kanitz in the first stages of World War I, shedding light on the negotiations and tentative agreement concluded between Prime Minister Mustafa-al-Mamalek and the German envoy. This is followed by an excellent account of personal experiences in Kerman-shah, where the author served as a member of the German Legation to the dissident "Provisional Government" of Nisam-as-Saltaneh. Valuable information is added to what we already know from Oskar Niedermayer's memoirs, *Unter der Glutsonne Irans*, concerning the German expedition to Afghanistan. New light is also shed on the Turko-German differences during World War I with regard to the problem of Pan-Turanism, Pan-Islamism, and nationalism. There are interesting remarks on Berlin as a post-war center of Middle

Eastern nationalist (and sometimes Communist) politicians. Finally Blücher offers new and hitherto unknown information on the Irano-German crisis of 1932, caused by offensive articles in the German press about Reza Shah, as well as on the Bank Melli scandal during Dr. Lindenblatt's term of office.

The author does not neglect to give a lively portrait of Reza Shah and of his régime. Reza's ruthless despotism is painted in vivid colors, and the "liquidation" of such men as Court Minister Teymouratche and the Bakhti-yari Chief, Sardar Assad, are described in considerable detail. It is a pity that the author's mission to Tehran ended in 1935, because this was when German policy in Iran took a new and vigorous turn. An inkling of the warmer attitude which the Shah would come to have toward Germany is given in Blücher's last conversation with the ruler during which the latter welcomed the advent of an authoritarian régime in Berlin.

The author is so engrossed in his account of German-Iranian relations that he neglects to give proper emphasis to Russo-Iranian problems and seems to be somewhat oblivious to the threat of Soviet imperialism. He reproduces, however, an interesting conversation with the Soviet envoy Petrovsky, during which the latter makes rather frank statements concerning Iran's dependence on Russia.

Summing up, this is a very useful volume that should not be overlooked by anyone who wants to make more than a fleeting acquaintance with Iran's problems (though, unfortunately, the author has neglected to supply the book with an index). By giving information on the main actors of the Iranian drama in the pre-war period, the book is helpful in ascertaining the attitudes of various prominent Iranian families today. As the Korean example has shown, the atom bomb has not eliminated the traditional weapons and instruments of policy; hence it is not altogether futile to study in greater detail men and politics in one of the vital "problem areas" of the world.

GEORGE LENCZOWSKI
Hamilton College

ISRAEL

The Republic of Israel: Its History and Its Promise, by Joseph Dunner. New York: Whittlesey House, 1950. 269 pages. \$4.75.

Dr. Dunner's text, apart from appendices, covers a bare 223 pages interspersed with liberal quotations from and full texts of documents, including the Israel Declaration of Independence, most of which rightfully belong among the appendices. He has undertaken a frightfully ambitious task for a volume so slim. In a 17-page chapter he presumes to review the Diaspora in terms of Judeo-Christian relations from the earliest times down through the Dreyfus case. His concluding two chapters, totalling a mere 14 pages, deal with such formidable subjects as "Israel — East or West," and "Zion and the Jews of the World." Dr. Dunner's ambitious undertaking has unfortunately not been matched by reverence for his task. The result is a book that resembles very much the paste-and-scissors "quickies" turned out by journalistic hacks. There is nothing here that a constant, albeit casual, reader of news dispatches and Sunday magazine articles does not already know, and less than he could find by consulting articles and news stories by the better correspondents reporting from Israel.

To restrict a review of Judeo-Christian relations to a discussion of Judeophobia, to discuss anti-Semitism almost exclusively in terms of religious prejudice, and to ascribe Jewish strivings for sovereignty in Zion to persecution alone, as the author seems to do, is to oversimplify Jewish history in a manner almost offensive. It is regrettable, furthermore, that there is no mention of the non-Jewish precursors of Zionism.

This preoccupation with religious prejudice, and with the purely political aspects of Zionism, has caused Dr. Dunner to gloss over relatively sizable periodic immigration of religious Jews to Israel, particularly in the past two centuries. There was, for example, the sudden convergence of Yemenite Jews upon Israel in the 1880's before they had even heard of Dr. Herzl. Then he overlooks the importance of the Jewish cultural renaissance, after a long period of theological petrification, both as a conditioner preparing the Jewish masses to accept Herzl and as the ultimate and higher

aim of Zionism now that statehood has been acquired.

The Hassidic movement, which restored Judaism from a discipline to a living faith, released great sources of dynamic piety among the Jewish masses and taught them to assert themselves even in the face of authority; the Haskalah, which gave new birth to secularism in Hebrew writing; the emergence of Yiddish as a literary language, providing the intellectual élite with a channel of communication with the masses, and giving the means of articulation to the untutored rank-and-file leadership of East Europe's Jews, are factors not to be overlooked in any book on Zionism and Israel. Indeed, they deserved inclusion even at the expense of the inept theological discussion in the first chapter of the book.

A discussion of Histadrut, the Israel labor federation, and its cooperative movement is meaningless unless placed in the context of Jewish participation in the anti-Czarist revolutionary movements and of the unionization efforts of the Jewish proletariat in Eastern Europe. Histadrut must be seen, also, alongside equally successful parallel efforts of Eastern European Jewish immigrants to the United States, which brought into being the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Israel communal settlements must be discussed both in terms of Tolstoyism and of the capacity for gregariousness and self-abnegation which the Israel pioneer obtained from his Hassidic forebears. Otherwise, the Kibbutz seems an unnatural plant without antecedents. There would have been place for a discussion of these if the author had omitted from his text some of the documents he presents, particularly the lengthy quotations from such of his own past writings as his letter to the editor of a Des Moines newspaper, at a time when the Zionist cause was in jeopardy before the UN — a letter which may cause the reader to infer that Dr. Dunner was important in the Zionist campaign (an inference that would be without basis in fact), and his dispatches to the *New Leader* from Palestine in 1946.

By accepting clichés at their face value the author fails to show appreciation of the many complex factors which brought about the termination of Britain's mandate and the emergence

of the State of Israel. These factors included the Christian world's feelings of guilt toward the Jews at the end of World War II, which resulted in universal shock whenever the British in Palestine took measures graphically reminiscent of Nazi persecution (curfews, forced embarkation for Cyprus, etc.); Britain's dependence on U. S. goodwill; her exposed positions and vulnerability throughout Asia; the violence of the dissidents — the Irgun and Sternists — which had done less, perhaps, to intimidate the British than to force even moderates on the Jewish Agency to show almost reckless daring in order to retain the initiative; Mr. Bevin's and the Arabs' great blunder in turning down the recommendation of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine; the effect on U. S. policy toward Israel resulting from our constitutional check-balancing of the executive and legislative powers.

Of the first British High Commissioner in Palestine, the author says, "But Sir Herbert Samuel was a British Jew who, in order to keep his office as High Commissioner of Palestine, felt compelled to lean over backward." Although sharing Dr. Dunner's views of Lord Samuel's policies, this reviewer is shocked by the imputation that this sincere man's policy was motivated by a jobholder's ambitions. In a glib turn of phrase the author ascribes to German Jews in Israel a "Judea über Alles" complex. This is unwarranted and untrue. The German Jews were behind the Aliyah Chadasha group which alone advocated an international trusteeship when almost the entire Zionist movement was behind demands for immediate statehood.

The author devotes a complete chapter to Dr. Leo Kohn's draft of the Israel constitution. Since this draft has never come up for discussion in the Knesset, and Israel is unlikely to adopt a written constitution, it might have been far better to discuss Israel's democracy in terms of laws actually passed. To discuss the kibbutz, without discussing the crisis through which it is now passing, as Dr. Dunner does, is to overlook an important socio-economic aspect of today's Israel.

The author's irritating lack of humility and his capacity to infer what is not there is evi-

dent in the preface which starts off, amusingly, with an almost curt note dated January 16, 1943, from Eleanor Roosevelt which questions the very basis of Zionist ideology. The author adds the following: "A few days later I answered Mrs. Roosevelt, giving her in outline form the first four chapters of this book. Since then I have had the opportunity of observing how this great American woman devoted much of her time and energy to help bring about the establishment of the State of Israel." Are we to assume that Dr. Dunner claims credit for Mrs. Roosevelt's change of mind?

J. L. TELLER

New York, N. Y.

ITALIAN COLONIES

The United Nations and the Italian Colonies, by Benjamin Rivlin. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United Nations Action, Case Histories I, 1950. 114 pages. 25 cents.

Although none of the former Italian colonies in Africa is either economically self-sustaining or politically viable, two of them, Libya and Eritrea, occupy strategically significant areas, and the third, Somaliland, shares with the others their seething nationalist fervor and conflicts of disparate elements among their populations. Conquered by British and Free French arms, the colonies (with the exception of the Fezzan region of Libya, which has been under French administration) have been under British military government. By Article 23 of the Italian Peace Treaty, Italy renounced all right and title to its African possessions. The USSR, the UK, the U.S., and France, by Annex XI to the Treaty, laid down principles and procedures for disposition of the colonies. Their final disposal was to be determined "in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments." As this stipulation called into play such conflicting motives and interests as to render a decision difficult, Annex XI further provided that if, within one year from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, the Four Powers were

unable to agree upon final disposal of the colonies, "the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation, and the Four Powers agree to accept this recommendation and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it."

The Treaty came into effect on September 15, 1947. On October 3 deputies of the Council of Foreign Ministers met to dispatch commissions of investigation to the colonies, to consult other interested governments, and to make recommendations for the colonies' disposal. On September 13, 1948, representatives of the Four Powers met at Paris to consider the contradictory reports submitted by the investigative commissions and to seek a solution of the problem. Their failure to agree threw the matter into the General Assembly. After prolonged study and debate the necessary two-thirds majority of the Assembly voted on November 21, 1949, that 1.) Libya would be independent not later than January 1, 1952, with the present administrative authorities for Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan carrying on meanwhile; 2.) Somaliland would be independent in ten years from the date of approval of a Trusteeship Agreement by the General Assembly (transfer of administrative power passed from the British military government to the Italians on April 1, 1950); and 3.) because of inability to determine the status of Eritrea, a new commission was to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants and the best means of promoting their welfare and prepare recommendations for the General Assembly.

That commission reached Eritrea on February 8, 1950. The determination of the future status of Eritrea is before the present session of the General Assembly. The complicated issues involved, insofar as they concern the deliberations of the organs of the United Nations, and the chief documents are admirably collected, assimilated, and presented in Benjamin Rivlin's *The United Nations and the Italian Colonies*. The pamphlet does not seek to go beyond a presentation and analysis of the debates and political discussions which produced the so-called "settlement." Its brevity excludes all but the merest mention of some of the vital factors which have made a solution difficult, and which may, even after formal

agreement, interfere with the successful implementation of the decisions of the Assembly. For example, the existence of military, naval, air, and commercial flying bases in Libya is mentioned, but their significance cannot be adequately presented in so short a discussion. Similarly, there is space only to mention the serious civil disorders in Asmara and elsewhere in Eritrea. The underlying imponderables which have riven the region must be passed over; as must the problem, increasingly serious, of Jewish minorities in Tripolitania.

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NORTH AFRICA

Fès Avant le Protectorat, by Roger Le Tourneau. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines. Tome XLV. Casa Blanca: Société Marocaine de Librairie et d'Édition, 1949. 668 pages.

M. Le Tourneau, following in the footsteps of the best tradition of French Arabists and Moroccanists, and well known among students of Morocco for his papers on Moroccan crafts and guilds, writes what is so far the most complete history of Fez and Fezzi life. The book is presented in the usual careful manner of the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, which is maintaining the high standard it reached before the war.

The book is divided into several parts: a few introductory chapters summarizing the history of the city and its vicissitudes during the various Fezzi dynasties, are followed by a very detailed second part describing the different sections of the town as they were when the Protectorate was established. This portion of the book, especially, is furnished with many helpful maps. Part III is a population study, including demography, movements of native groups, as well as the history and development of the Jewish and European minorities.

The two parts that follow are probably the most complete and interesting. The first of them is a description of city government and administration, municipal services and community organization. M. Le Tourneau clearly recognizes the *hawmah* (ward, *quartier*) as

the essential structural unit and devotes a whole chapter to it, aptly describing the multiple functions and responsibilities of the ward leader (the *mugaddam el-hawmah*)—quite surely the most influential element in the proper (and occasionally improper) running of a North African town.

As soon as he gets into the next section, Part V, M. Le Tourneau feels himself even more at home and sets out to deliver 170-odd pages on the system and functioning of economic life: trade, industries, crafts, guilds, markets, transportation, etc., and also the social categories and ethnic associations of economic groups. Being a specialist, the author knows this aspect of Fezzi activities down to the very bottom, and wants to tell the reader all he knows. We are overwhelmed with a stupendous amount of minute detail—pertinent to be sure—but detail which might cause the diletante reader to close the book at this point.

The last three topics of the work are by far the weakest in treatment. After dwelling for a short while on Fezzi libraries and colleges, the author goes on to give an account of Fezzi customs in the old-fashioned ethnographic method of a collection of human oddities. He discusses social classes, family life, entertainment and religion. Fearing to leave gaps in his account and so make it incomprehensible to those unacquainted with the North African picture, the author's ethnographic exposé loses the Fezzi variations in a maze of description (story-tellers, circumcision, housing, etc. . . .) which can be duplicated not only in Morocco but elsewhere in the Magreb, and—for religion—in most parts of Islam. Since the lay reader will probably not read the book, M. Le Tourneau should have given us the Fezzi details alone and more of them, omitting the more generalized and well known material. For instance, the author mentioned the flag that announces prayer at the mosque. There is a vague legend connecting Sultan Abu 'Inan of Fez with this custom that could have been clarified, but which is not mentioned. It is things like this that are missing. This criticism aside, the author's essays on marriage and music are excellent.

M. Le Tourneau appears to be a very shrewd observer. On one occasion he men-

tions the sense of shame, the *hashūmah*, as a motivation for Fezzi behavior. The fear of ridicule, and of the improper, is strong elsewhere in Morocco, but we would have liked to see M. Le Tourneau connect it with, say, the business ethics of the usually so profit-minded Fezzi merchants. The results would have been very interesting.

The author accurately points out that during the latter part of the last century especially, there was an increased contact of Fezzis with Western European culture. This created a group of culturally marginal people, for whom French sociologists have coined the descriptive term of *évolués*. M. Le Tourneau uses the term a few times, especially when referring to the economically active classes. These groups of people seem to have had an attitude toward many political ideas, especially on the establishment of the Protectorate, in opposition to that held by the rest of the Fezzis, which is properly emphasized in statements like: ". . . les commerçants des villes étaient attentifs à nos [French] projets. . . ." It is quite logical that in the years preceding the Protectorate there were some clashes of opinion between these acculturated groups and the more traditionally minded Fezzis. The treatment of the *évolués*, as a whole and as a separate group in this cultural conflict, should have been stressed. We hope that M. Le Tourneau will be able to write up some of the material which he has undoubtedly collected on this subject.

The author's short account of Fezzi personality, which he calls "personalité morale" (pp. 206-209), is insufficient and clearly biased. His Fezzis become a little bit too good to be true. Besides, in Fez there is always the doubt of whether the person one runs into is a Fezzi. By the law of averages, chances are that he comes from somewhere else, usually a country tribe. However, M. Le Tourneau's enthusiasm for the Fezzis is easy to overlook. In the first place, it gives his narrative a pleasing emotional sympathy, and then again on this point of personal bias, no investigator who has worked among native people can cast the first stone.

In gathering the material for his book, the author has practically exhausted all possible source references. His bibliography lists well

over three hundred titles, ranging from the extensive *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* to short newspaper articles, and quoting a more than fair number of Arabic sources—both translated and not. This reviewer is able to recall only one book on Fez which does not appear in M. Le Tourneau's bibliography: Georg Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (Kopenhague, 1781). However, the material of this rare book overlaps with Windus' 1725 work, with which M. Le Tourneau is familiar. The number of sources is not only impressive; in spite of occasional lack of cross-checking, its critical use is quite satisfactory and the reviewer agrees with the author in the relative importance accorded to each of them. For instance, Auguste Mouliéras, a hard worker, but rather ingenuous and gullible regarding statements of native informants, is referred to as "le bon Mouliéras" (p. 206), which suits him to perfection.

The author has gone beyond the established sources and used some unpublished manuscripts, such as Spillman's on *Brotherhoods*, which we hope to see in print some day. He has also done a fair amount of independent field work, collecting historical data and anecdotes from survivors of pre-Protectorate times.

The series of maps, and the collection of photographic plates (including some Delacroix sketches) have not been assembled for their artistic value—often low—but to illustrate a work prepared in a scientific spirit, and they serve the purpose quite adequately.

In summary, this book is without any doubt on the "must" list for all students of North Africa, and anyone interested in the organization of a Muslim town.

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L'Organisation Régionale du Maroc, by Frédéric Brémard. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et Jurisprudence, 1949. 389 pages. 880 Fr.

In *L'Organisation Régionale du Maroc*, Frédéric Brémard presents a systematic study of the problems of regional and local government in the rapidly developing French protectorate of Morocco. In approaching his subject, he divides his study into two sections. In

the first he presents its history, the present governmental organization, a criticism of its functioning, and a comparison of the Moroccan with the former Tunisian regional organization. In the second part he discusses the problems affecting the decentralization of government in Morocco; whether it is practical from historical, geographic, economic, ethnographic, sociological, and political points of view. Aside from its practical usefulness, this study represents a distinct contribution to published information concerning the present Moroccan government.

M. Brémard obviously considers that the present highly centralized administration of this rich and valued French protectorate is too cumbersome to provide for good, efficient government, or to permit sufficient adaptations to fit ethnological and economic differences in the various areas. While he feels that the central government as a whole assumes too much of the powers of the chief of the region, it is the technical services (public works, public health, education, agriculture, etc.), he contends, which offend most seriously; they generally base their stands on grounds of technical necessity. The author believes that many details now handled by the central government can very properly and effectively be redistributed to local officials and organs of rural, municipal, and regional life. The present regional officials, he says, have little more power than that of transmitting and carrying out orders from the central authorities and keeping them informed on local conditions and problems.

The author prefers that the country be decentralized into four or five large regions rather than smaller segments. He suggests that the change will have to consist much more in a reform of *moeurs* and administrative habits than a reform of legislative and regulatory texts. Some of these, he maintains, already exist, but are nullified by the independence of the central government and its technical services, which tend to usurp such powers as the present chiefs of the region are supposed to exercise.

M. Brémard recommends the establishment of regions with executive officials, full quota of relatively autonomous technical services, and a regional council which actually serves as a

deliberative body with regard to the autonomous regional budget, although it would continue to be merely consultative in other matters. He further states that substantial powers should be attributed to the (French) chiefs of region and his subordinate officers to enable the region to manage its own internal affairs on matters which do not also concern other regions or of necessity fall within the sphere of the central government. The author uses as a basis of his studies and recommendations those made by the last two resident generals and other officials, looking toward decentralization of the Moroccan government, in order to free the residency of its inordinate burden of details. In general, the study looks toward improving the government of the protectorate through developing permanent participation by, and cooperation between, Muslims and French in governmental affairs. The implications of nationalism with regard to the proposed reforms enter into the discussion only by slight and indirect reference.

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BOOKS ALSO NOTED

General

- The Arabs in History*, by Bernard Lewis. London: University of London, Hutchinson University Library, 1950. 180 pages. \$1.60.
- The British Overseas*, by C. E. Carrington. London: Cambridge University Press, 1950. 1059 pages. \$9.00. The history of the British Empire from the earliest English voyages in the 14th century to the present day. Chapters on British colonies in the Middle East, and discussions of political and military incidents involving Britain in the area.
- High Place*, by Geoffrey Household. New York: Little Brown and Company, 1950. 245 pages. \$3.00. Novel concerning political intrigue taking place mainly in modern Syria.
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Arab World

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Drums Behind the Hills, by Ursula Graham Bower. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1950. 266 pages. \$4.00. The account of a young British woman who spent nine years with the Naga tribesmen in the hills of India. Excellent photographs.

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- Seven Noble Lives*, by Nagendranath Gupta. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Ltd., 1950. 212 pages. Rs. 5.
- Toward Freedom from Want*, by D. Spencer Hatch. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1949. 303 pages. Rs. 3/8. The story of one man's experiences in raising living standards and incomes, and improving health and sanitation in Indian villages.
- Universities and National Life*, by S. R. Dongerkery. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Ltd., 1950. 115 pages. Rs. 4/8. Discussion of higher education in India.
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Israel

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- Fifty Years of Zionism*, by Oskar K. Rabinowicz. London: Robert Anscombe and Co., Ltd., 1950. 122 pages. 7s. 6d. An expansion of three lectures delivered before the Zionist Study Group in 1949, concerning an historical analysis of Dr. Weizmann's *Trial and Error*.
- Israel in Crisis*, by Abraham Bernard Magil. New York: International Publishers, 1950. 224 pages. \$2.50.
- Israel Economist Annual, 1949-50*. Jerusalem: Israel Economist, 1950. \$8.00.
- Jerusalem*, by Trude Weiss Rosmarin. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950. 51 pages. \$2.75. A short history of the Holy City from the Stone Age to the present time.
- New Star in the Near East*, by Kenneth Bilby. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1950. 279 pages. \$3.50. The problems and accomplishments of Israel by a first-hand observer of long-standing.
- The Rise of Israel*, by Jeremiah Ben-Jacob. New York: Grosby House, 1949. 217 pages. \$3.00. The background of Zionism and the struggle for Israel's independence. Discussion of the various problems facing the new state.
- Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel*, by L. A. Mayer and J. Pinkerfield. Introduction by J. W. Hirschberg, and Preface by J. L. Maimon. Jerusalem: Government Printer, 1950. 50 pages. 60 plates and drawings. Text also in Hebrew and Arabic.
- Watch For the Morning*, by Thomas Sugrue. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 304 pages. \$3.50. A report on modern Israel by one who observed and talked with the people of the land.

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- Friar Felix at Large: A 15th Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, by Hilda Frances Prescott. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. 254 pages.
- The Struggle for Palestine*, by J. C. Hurewitz. New York: W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 1950. 388 pages. \$6.00. An account of "the disintegration of the mandate, the repercussions in the Arab and Jewish worlds, and the complications caused by big-power politics." Well documented. A full bibliography is attached.

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- Bridge to Islam: A Study of the Religious Forces of Islam and Christianity in the Near East*, by Erich W. Bethmann. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Assn., 1950. 254 pages. \$2.25.
- The Legacy of Maimonides*, by Ben Zion Bokser. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950. 123 pages. \$3.75. Discussion of the basic teachings of the great medieval scholar of Judaism, Moses Maimonides.

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Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Consultant in Near East Bibliography, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Elizabeth Bacon, Richard Ettinghausen, Abdollah Faryar, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, M. Perlmann, William D. Preston, C. Rabin, Dorothy Shepherd, and Andreas Tietze.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East generally since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

For list of abbreviations, see page 516.

GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 3633 WRIGHT, J. W. "The White Nile flood plain and the effect of proposed control schemes." *Geog. J.* 114 (D '49) 173-90.

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(Medieval)

- 3634 AMINI, REZA. "Kermanshah." (in Persian) *Ettela'at* (Tehran) 2 (My '50) 15-8. An historical sketch of this Iranian city.
- 3635 ASSAF, S. "Letters from Kairwan and Alexandria to R. Joseph ibn 'Ukal." (in Hebrew) *Tarbits* (Tel Aviv) 20 ('50) 177-90. Letters to a religious official of the 11th century, containing interesting political and economic sidelights, including a list of Maghribi market prices.
- 3636 BABINGER, FRANZ. "Mehmed II's Heirat mit Sitt-Chatun (1449)." *Islam* 29 ('49) 217-35. With 15 illustrations (inscriptions, tomb coins, and a portrait preserved in a ms. of Ptolemy's geography in Venice).
- 3637 BANETH, D. Z. "A letter from Yemen dated 1202 A.D." (in Hebrew) *Tarbits* 20 ('50) 205-14. A Judaeo-Arabic letter

alluding to events in the history of the Sultans al-Mu'izz and al-Nāṣir.

- 3638 FALSAFI, NASROLLAH. "The story of 'Sārūtaqi'." (in Persian) *Ettela'at* (Tehran) 2 (My '50) 3-6. "Sārūtaqi," or Mirzā Mohammed Taqī E'temād od-Dowlah, was a vizier of the great Safavid Shah 'Abbās. His life was unusually eventful.
- 3639 GOITEIN, S. D. "An Arab on the Arabs." (in Hebrew, English summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 1 (Ap '50) 198-200. Resumé of Ibn Khaldūn's views and criticisms of the Arabs. The author denies that Ibn Khaldūn speaks as a Berber (he calls himself an Arab) but derives these statements from Ibn Khaldūn's objectivity, of which he cites some instances.
- 3640 GOITEIN, S. D. "Early letters and documents from the collection of the late D. Kaufmann." (in Hebrew) *Tarbits* 20 ('50) 191-204. Includes an estimate of the fortunes of Fuṣṭāt Jews, an 11th century business letter in Kairuwān colloquial, and other documents throwing light on community and economic affairs.
- 3641 GOITEIN, S. D. "The historical background of the erection of the Dome of the Rock." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 70 (Ap '50) 104-18. This well-documented article purports to disprove Goldziher's theory that the Omayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik had built

the *Qubbat al-Sakhrah* in Jerusalem as a rival to the Ka'bah of Mecca. Rather, Prof. Goitein maintains, it was erected in the spirit of an Islamic mission to the Christians.

- 3642 HINZ, WALTHER. "Das Rechnungswesen in orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter." *Islam* 29 ('49) 1-29, 113-41. Based on manuals of accountancy.
- 3643 ISSAWI, CHARLES. "Muhammad's historical role." *Muslim World* 40 (Ap '50) 83-95. Reviews the situation obtaining in the Near East during the 6th century A.D., concluding that "if any one man changed the course of history that man was Muhammad."
- 3644 MIHANKOVA, V. "Problems of the cultural history of Armenia and Georgia in the works of N. Y. Marr." (in Russian) *Voprosy ist.* 2 (F '50) 25-45. Throughout his work Marr pleaded "for the nation, yet against nationalism."
- 3645 PETRUSHEVSKY, I. P. "On the history of the institution of *soyurgal*." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 227-46. Analyzes the terms of enfeoffment and tax exemption that spread in the Near East with the Mongols.
- 3646 PHILBY, H. ST. J. B. "South Arabian chronology." *Muséon* 72 ('49) 229-49. Survey article embodying criticism of Winnett's theories on the "shorter chronology."
- 3647 PIGULEVSKAYA, N. V. "Social relations in Nejrān in the early 6th century." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 199-226. Greek, Syriac, and South Arabic epigraphic material is drawn upon to show that Nejrān, a city-state of slave owners with strong tribal ties, was opposed to the efforts of Himyar's centralizing kings.
- 3648 SAUVAGET, J. "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks." *J. Asiatique* No. 1 ('50) 31-58. Turkish names of 209 Mamelukes explained.
- 3649 SCHABINGER, KARL EMIL. "Zur Geschichte des Saldschuken Reichskanzlers Nizamu'l-Mulk." *Hist. Jahrbuch* 62 ('49) 250-83. The relations between the great vizier and his predecessor, al-Kunduri. The author has prepared a German translation of the *Siyāsetnāme*h.
- 3650 SPULER, BERTHOLD. "Der Verlauf der Islamisierung Persiens." *Islam* 29 ('49) 63-76. Material interests, Islamic mission, Islamization of places of worship urged the new faith upon the people.
- 3651 VON GABAIN, ANNEMARIE. "Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken." *Islam* 29 ('49) 30-62. Relationships among the country and city dwellers during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

See also: 3719, 3730, 3737, 3747.

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- 3652 "The new regime in Turkey." *World Today* 7 (Jl '50) 289-96. The results of the recent elections in Turkey indicate that the drive toward westernization started by Atatürk has not yet spent itself and that authority is now in the hands of the rising middle class. An increasingly liberal spirit is pervading both the economic and political spheres of life.
- 3653 "Recent events in Persia." *Roy. Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 8-2. A brief note on events during the latter half of 1949: progress of the Seven-Year Plan; possibility of a new Middle East pact; signing of a trade treaty with Turkey.
- 3654 AKOPYAN, G. "Objectivist fallacies in the works of A. F. Miller on the history of Turkey." (in Russian) *Voprosy Ist.* 2 (F '50) 99-119. "The Soviet reader cannot understand such a non-political, objective exposition of the history of the country in which for a long time a most reprehensible anti-Soviet campaign has been waged."
- 3655 ASSAF, M. "The revenge complex in the Arab world." (in Hebrew, English summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 1 (Ap '50) 185-9. The desire for *revanche* against Israel is becoming a complex which will distract attention from the important problems of material and spiritual reconstruction now facing the Arabs. K. Zuraiq and M. 'Alami make far-reaching inner reforms a prerequisite of reconquest, but the only chance of success lies in a change of mind. Many quotations and historical parallels.
- 3656 AZMI, MAHMOUD. "La question de Libye." *Politique Étrangère* 14 (D '49) 505-22. History of the country, with a summary of the viewpoints of all nations interested in the Libyan question.
- 3657 BONSAI, STEPHEN. "Armenian disaster." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 43-8. Some notes on the Armenian delegation and its efforts at Versailles.
- 3658 DERMENGHEM, EMILE. "Les souvenirs de l'émir Abdelkader dans la région de Mascara." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 9 (O '49) 147-9. Some monuments with which is associated the name of this Algerian hero (1808-83) who fought France for 15 years and then became a friend.
- 3659 DOWSON, V. H. W. "The Lebanon, 1948-1949." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 66-76. A discussion of the recent political situation in the Lebanon, both internal and in relation with the neighboring states.

- 3660 ELIAV, P. N. "The Arab states at the UN Assembly." (in Hebrew, English summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 1 (Ap '50) 190-7. The Arab delegations at the 4th session were less united and weaker than before. The Lebanese group was the most prominent. This is the first part of an analysis of the activities and politics of the various delegations, particularly on the former Italian colonies and on Jerusalem.
- 3661 FISCHEL, WALTER. "The Jews of Persia, 1795-1940." *Jewish Social Stud.* 12 (Ap '50) 119-60. Political vicissitudes under the Kajars; missionary activities; success of Bahaism; national awakening.
- 3662 HAMZAVI, ABDY. "Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 66 (Ap '50) 29-33. The philosophy of government of Shah Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi.
- 3663 ISNARD, HILDEBERT. "Aux origines du nationalisme algérien." *Annales* 4 (D '49) 463-74. "Islam is our faith, Algeria our homeland, Arabic our mother tongue."
- 3664 KHATISSIAN, ALEXANDER. "The memoirs of a mayor, IV." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 78-92. An account of the organization of Russian Armenians for use against the Turks in World War I.
- 3665 LAGARDE, L. "Note sur les journaux français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud II." *J. Asiatique* 238 ('50) 103-44. French journals have appeared in Smyrna since 1824 and have played a considerable role in the social and political life of Turkey until recent times.
- 3666 LEHRMAN, HAL. "Bargain in Turkey." *Fortune* 41 (Mr '50) 59-60. "Here's one place where we've spent well." States that the American Mission for Aid to Turkey has done an excellent job in making the Turks an effective fighting ally at a surprisingly low cost.
- 3667 MARMORSTEIN, EMILE. "The Arabs and Point Four." *Spectator* (London) 6365 (Je '50) 850. The Arabs in general would like the U. S. to provide the Near East with money and technicians, although they fail to appreciate the underlying American generosity and idealism. The author advises the informational services of the U. S. Government to underplay Point IV because publicity rarely makes charity acceptable; indeed, it is more likely to create resentment.
- 3668 MARRO, GIOVANNI. "Primaria fonte storica sulla rinascita dell' Egitto nel secolo scorso." *Annali* (Naples) 3 ('49) 291-8. Discusses the Turin archive of Bernardino Drovetti, French consul and friend of Muhammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm.
- 3669 MIKLUHO-MAKLAI, N. D. "On the taxation policy in Iran under Shah Abbas I (1587-1629)." (in Russian) *Sov. vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 348-55. 'Irāq 'Ajāmī (Isfahan) was granted such privileges as tax exemptions while the Kizilbash, the Turkish element, was undermined. The Iranian bureaucracy, settled nobility, and *shī'a* clergy were heavily favored.
- 3670 NASSUR, ADIB. "The moral crisis of the Arabs." (in Arabic) *al-Abhāth* (Beirut) 3 (Je '50) 153-62. States that the Arabs are in urgent need of moral rearmament. This can be effected only by long and patient education. However, the educators, especially in Syria, have apparently lost their control of the youth.
- 3671 NEPESOV, G. "The rise and development of the Turkmen SSR." (in Russian) *Voprosy Ist.* 2 (F '50) 3-24. A useful presentation of the official version.
- 3672 PETROV, G. M. "An outline of Russo-Iranian economic and political relations in the 18th century." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 327-35. Some valuable data. Russia sought "economic cooperation in the interests of both parties to be achieved on the basis of friendly neighborly relations."
- 3673 SHIMONI, YAACOV. "Israel in the pattern of Middle East politics." *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 277-95. Israel has sacrificed all it can to bring about peaceful relations with the surrounding states. It is now up to the Arabs; Israel's problem is how to persuade them to overcome their fears.
- 3674 SMOGORZEWSKI, K. M. "Turkish snapshots." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 178 (Jl '50) 18-22. Some interesting remarks on life in Istanbul and Ankara by an experienced observer.
- 3675 SPULER, BERTHOLD. "Die Wolga-Tataren und Baschkiren unter russischer Herrschaft." *Islam* 29 ('49) 142-216. 16 pages of bibliography and 5 pages of statistical data (1665-1939). The fate of the Muslim peoples on the Volga since the 15th century is traced through Russian conquest, revolts, economic development, political awakening, and participation in Russian affairs.
- 3676 TASHJIAN, JAMES H. "The American military mission to Armenia, VI." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 97-116. On-the-spot investigation of conditions by the special mission sent to Armenia to prepare a report for submission to the U. S. Government regarding a proposed mandate over Armenia.
- 3677 TVERITINOVA, A. S. "On the history of Russo-Turkish relations under Elizabeth." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 312-26. Quotes from archive documents to describe the emergence of Russia as the new and decisive factor in the 40's and

- 50's of the 18th century, and the opposition of the West to Russia in Istanbul.
- 3678 TZITZERNAK, K. "Aghasi Khanjian." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 53-60. Khanjian was executive secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Armenia in the early 30's. His ruthless implementation of Russian policy to the lasting detriment of Armenian interests is described by an eye-witness of the various events.
- 3679 VECCIA VAGLIERI, LAURA. "L'imamato ibādīta dell' 'Omān." *Annali* 3 ('49) 245-82. Actually an outline of the history of Oman.
- 3680 WEINBERGER, SIEGBERT J. "Political upset in Turkey." *Middle Eastern Aff.* (New York) 1 (My '50) 135-42. Considers that the change in parties does not signify the beginning of real democracy. The illiteracy and political impotence of the peasants and the reactionary threat implicit in attempts to revive pre-Kemalist Islam are challenges that may prove too much for the Democratic Party.
- 3681 WILLIAMS, KENNETH. "Oil and the Persian Gulf." *Fortnightly* (London) 1001 n.s. (My '50) 289-94. The rulers of the small states on the Persian Gulf should be given "obligatory advice" on how to spend the royalties accruing from the oil found in their territory. The author has some commonsense advice for future advisers.
- 3682 ZVYAGIN, Y. "Total diplomacy" in the Near East." *New Times* (Moscow) 26 (Je '50) 11-5. The Three-Power Declaration of last May regarding arms for the Near East "furnishes fresh convincing evidence that this strategic area holds anything but a minor place in the Anglo-American plans of world domination." In time a military alliance will be fashioned "to embrace the Arab countries, Israel, Turkey, and Iran."
- See also: 3688, 3689, 3691, 3693, 3695, 3702, 3706, 3748, 3750.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation, and communications)

- 3683 "Le plan septennal iranien et ses rapports avec l'économie iranienne." *Études et Conjoncture* 5 (F '50) 74-95. An outline and evaluation.
- 3684 BEE, JOHN M. "Persia's progress depends on communications." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 66 (Je '50) 32-4. Railways, roads, ports, and airlines all must be greatly improved if Iranian economy is to expand in significant degree.
- 3685 BEE, JOHN M. "Persia's seven-year development plan." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 66 (Jl '50) 27-9. This plan is a comprehensive, well-devised operation to enable Iran to profit from its resources. It is the logical and necessary sequel to the economic progress made in the country since the beginning of the century and, in particular, since the rule of Reza Shah.
- 3686 DIAMOND, WILLIAM. "The Industrial Development Bank of Turkey." *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 349-52. An analysis of the thinking back of the organization of this bank with International Bank support.
- 3687 DODD, NORRIS E. "A summary of activities of the Food and Agriculture Organization in the Middle East." *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 352-5. A factual presentation without critical evaluation.
- 3688 GARDINER, ARTHUR Z. "Point Four and the Arab world." *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 296-306. The argument for Point Four in the Middle East from an American point of view; what is necessary to make the program successful.
- 3689 HENZE, PAUL B. "The economic development of Soviet Central Asia to the eve of World War II." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 28-44. The author concludes that while the peoples of Soviet Central Asia enjoyed no real autonomy, either political or economic, the Soviet planning system made possible a very considerable economic development in Central Asia prior to World War II. Map.
- 3690 HOLLAND, CHARLES D. "Persia's agriculture is based on the soil." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 66 (My '50) 30-2. Mechanization, introduction of new crops, and irrigation are the immense tasks facing the planners of agricultural reconstruction in Iran.
- 3691 HOSKINS, HALFORD L. "Point Four with reference to the Middle East." *Annals Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science* (Mr '50) 85-95. A realistic appraisal of the difficulties in the way of implementing this program. Although pessimism is justified at the moment, intelligent planning and management may well yield worthwhile results.
- 3692 PHILBY, H. ST. J. B. "The golden jubilee in Saudi Arabia." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ap '50) 112-23. An Englishman who has spent much of the last 33 years in Saudi Arabia tells of the changes that have taken place during this period.
- 3693 SQUIRE, SIR GILES. "Recent progress in Afghanistan." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 6-18. The British Minister and later Ambassador in Kabul from 1943-49 describes the various social and economic changes that occurred in Afghanistan during those years.

- 3694 YAKHIN, S. H. "The final report of the Economic Survey Mission." (in Hebrew, English summary) *Hamizrah Hehadash* 1 (Ap '50) 201-6. Critical study of the Clapp Report. The author claims that it lays too much emphasis on financial factors, although it has wisely fitted its plans to the extent to which American economic aid would be available.

See also: 3653, 3667, 3681, 3720.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 3695 ALLEN, C. H. "Why a Moslem official changed his faith." *Muslim World* 40 (Jl '50) 176-84. In 1912 Mer'at es-Sultan was Chief of Police of Azerbaijan. A Tsarist army entered Tabriz in order to "protect Russian subjects." Mer'at es-Sultan felt his life to be in jeopardy so he fled to Turkey. On his subsequent return to Iran he was captured and sentenced to death, from which fate he was miraculously saved at the last minute.
- 3696 ANDERSON, J. N. D. "The problem of divorce in the shari'a law of Islam." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ap '50) 169-85. Detailed discussion of divorce reforms in Egypt and of the Sunni Muslim traditions which provide legal justification for them.
- 3697 ANDERSON, J. N. D. "The shari'a today." *J. Comparative Legislation and Internat. Law* 31 (N '49) 18-25. Difficulties in the way of adapting the canonic law of Islam to a society in transition.
- 3698 BOUSQUET, G. H. "Deux remarques sur la circoncision musulmane." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 9 (D '49) 196-7. Brief discussion of circumcision on the eighth day and circumcision of the dead.
- 3699 DAVIES, RODGER P. "Syrian Arabic kinship terms." *Southwestern J. of Anthropology* 5 (Autumn '49) 244-52. The use of kinship terms and the behavior associated with them. Data obtained from a Palestinian Christian Arab from Tiberias and a Muslim Arab from Damascus.
- 3700 ELDER, E. E. "The teaching of religion in Egypt." *Muslim World* 40 (Jl '50) 160-6. An analysis of recent legislation aiming at intensification of religious instruction in the public school system. The author, a veteran missionary stationed in Egypt, concludes that only history will reveal whether or not these developments portend a genuine religious revival.
- 3701 FRAYHA, ANIS. "Modern Arabic proverbs." (in Arabic) *al-Abhāth* (Beirut) 3 (Je '50) 163-76. A general discussion of their origin and diffusion, style, and psychology.
- 3702 HUTCHISON, A. M. CLARK. "The Hadhrami Bedouin legion." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 62-5. Description of the recruitment and training of the local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate, which is modelled on the Jordan Arab Legion.
- 3703 JEFFERY, ARTHUR. "The Qur'an as scripture." *Muslim World* 40 (Ap, Jl '50) 106-34, 185-206. In order to succeed in his mission Mohammed deemed it necessary to have a scripture such as the Jews and Christians possessed and that it had to be delivered through God-sent human messengers. Further, just as Mohammed claimed to be in the succession of Prophets sent as messengers to summon men to the "way of God," so his Book, the Qur'an, is considered to be in the succession of earlier scriptures, heaven-revealed sources, to be read for illumination on that "way of God."
- 3704 KATUL, JIBRAIL. "Education in Palestine, 1920-1948." (in Arabic) *al-Abhāth* (Beirut) 3 (Je '50) 177-87. An account of education under the mandate by a former assistant director of education in Palestine.
- 3705 MAKAL, MAHMUT. "Notes of a Turkish schoolteacher." *New Times* 28 (Jl '50) 24-30. Excerpts from Makal's "sensational" exposé of Turkey's countryside poverty, *Bizim Köy*, together with a brief biographical preface.
- 3706 MIGLIORINI, ELIO. "L'elemento europeo nelle città nord-africane." *Annali* 3 ('49) 101-26. Figures, origins, character of the European communities in the principal cities. Oran had the highest percentage of Europeans: 76.2.
- 3707 MORENO, MARIO MARTINO. "Note di teologia ibādita." *Annali* 3 ('49) 299-313. Following a study by Nallino 30 years ago, the author sets out to trace points of contact between *mu'tazilah* tenets and the teachings of al-Sālimi of Oman.
- 3708 NADEL, S. F. "A study of shamanism in the Nuba mountains." *J. Royal Anthropological Inst.* 76, pt. 1, 25-37. An analysis of spirit possession—the beliefs and practices associated with it, the social role of the shaman, and the psychology of shamanism—among several tribes in the Nuba Mountains of Southern Sudan.
- 3709 PANETTA, ESTER. "Une waqfiyyah hanafita dal secolo XVIII." *Annali* 3 ('49) 315-30. Annotated translation of a document from Tripoli.
- 3710 RAGER, J. J. "Les musulman algériens en France et dans les pays islamiques." *Rev.*

- de la Méditerranée* 8 (Ap '50) 169-90. In 1948 there were 7½ million Muslims in France, among them a rapidly growing colony of Algerians settled in European France, especially Paris. (Algeria is included in France).
- 3711 ROSSI, ETTORE. "Appunti su feste et costumanze religiose dei musulmani di Tripoli." *Annali* 3 ('49) 179-86. Quotes from a number of popular songs.
- 3712 THESIGER, W. P. "The Badu of southern Arabia." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 53-61. On the customs of the camel-breeding nomads of southern Arabia and the problems of cultural readjustment which they face with the decline of the camel trade and the consequent drift toward employment in the oil fields.
- 3713 THOMSON, WILLIAM. "Free will and predestination in early Islam." *Muslim World* 40 (Jl '50) 207-16. The first of two articles commenting on the principal theses developed in the above-named book by Prof. W. Montgomery Watt.
- 3714 TRITTON, A. S. "Folklore in Islam." *Muslim World* 40 (Jl '50) 167-75. Some translated excerpts from the *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ wa-al-ahkām* of the *shīʿa* writer Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābūyē (died 991 A.D.).
- 3715 WATT, W. MONTGOMERY. "Early discussions about the Qurʾān." *Muslim World* 40 (Ap '50) 96-105. A study of views on problems of great significance in the formative period of Muslim theology.
- See also: 3641, 3693.
- ### ART
- (*Archeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri*)
- 3716 COMSTOCK, HELEN. "Two great exhibitions of Iranian art." *Connoisseur* 75 (Mr '50) 42-3. Discussion of the exhibitions of Persian art in the Metropolitan Museum and in the Asia Institute. With 2 illust.
- 3717 DAY, FLORENCE E. "Mesopotamian manuscripts of Dioscorides." *Bull. Metropolitan Museum of Art* (My '50) 274-80. Mainly a discussion of the Mashhad ms. of the Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* written in Mayyafarigin in upper Mesopotamia during the 3rd quarter of the 12th century, its place in the history of art, and the transmission of classical scientific literature in Syriac and Arabic.
- 3718 EASTMAN, ALVIN CLARK. "On three Persian 'marine' paintings." *J. Nr. East. Stud.* 9 (Jl '50) 153-63. These three miniatures, located in Providence, Boston, and New York, more or less resemble each other in subject matter, composition, and style. Illust.
- 3719 EMERSON, WILLIAM, and VAN NICE, ROBERT L. "Hagia Sophia and the first minaret erected after the conquest of Constantinople." *Amer. J. of Archaeology* 54 (Ja '50) 28-40. "The south turret of the two standing beside the west window was once heightened to serve as a minaret which was removed in the 16th century, but is recorded in surviving drawings; this no longer extant minaret was in all likelihood the first erected after the fall of Constantinople." 1 fig. and 2 pls.
- 3720 FIELD, HENRY, and PRICE, KATHLEEN. "Early history of agriculture in middle Asia." *Southwestern J. of Anthropology* 6 (spring '50) 21-31. Summary of a translation of a Russian paper by G. F. Gaidukevich on the beginnings of agriculture in Central Asia.
- 3721 HERBER, J. "Notes sur l'influence de la bijouterie soudanaise sur la bijouterie marocaine." *Annali* 3 ('49) 93-7.
- 3722 KRACHKOVSKAYA, V. A. "Arabic epigraphy in Russia down to the 1850's." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 271-301.
- 3723 KURDIAN, H. "Unique enamel bindings on an Armenian manuscript." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 75-7. A survival of the art of Byzantine enameling on a *sharakan* (hymnal) ms., written in 1459 A.D. Illust.
- 3724 LEVI DELLA VIDA, GIORGIO. "Inscrizione araba di Ras-el-Hammam." *Annali* 3 ('49) 77-81. A short construction inscription of the 11th century from a castle near Leptis Magna.
- 3725 MARÇAIS, GEORGES. "Art chrétien d'Afrique et art berbère." *Annali* 3 ('49) 63-75.
- 3726 SCHLUMBERGER, DANIEL. "The Ghaznavid palace of Lashkari-Tsazar." *Illust. London News* 216 (Mr 25 '50) 443, 458-62. Announcement of the highly important discovery of a Ghaznavid palace of the 11th century on the bank of the Helmand River in southwestern Afghanistan. 11 illust.
- 3727 SCHROEDER, ERIC. "Two Persian drawings." *Bull. of Fogg Art Museum* 11 (Mr '50) 69-72. Analysis of two newly acquired drawings in the Fogg Art Museum: one of "Two Cavaliers" here attributed to Herat, 1480-90, and tentatively to Shah Muzaffar; the other, "Man with Ram" by Aga Riza and dating from ca. 1590. 3 figs.
- 3728 SERJEANT, R. B. "Building and builders in Hadramawt." *Muséon* 62 ('49) 275-84. Their social organization and rituals, including a number of architectural terms.

- 3729 SHEPHERD, DOROTHY G. "A Persian textile of the Safavid period." *Bull. of Cleveland Mus. of Art* 37 (Je '50) 118-9. Description of a late 17th century textile of a falconer. Illust.
- 3730 SMIRNOVA, O. I. "Soghdian coins as a new source for the history of Central Asia." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 356-67. Only toward the end of the 8th century did the Arabic script appear instead of the Soghdian-Buddhist. A table of *ikhshids* from 650-783 is given.
- 3731 VALENTINER, W. R. "A masterpiece of Persian art." *Bull. of Art Division, Los Angeles County Mus.* 3 (Autumn '49) 9-11. This is a 16th century animal medallion carpet presented to the museum by Mr. J. Paul Getty. Illust.

See also: 3646.

LANGUAGE

- 3732 "Vocabulaire philosophique." *Bull. des Études Arabes* (Algiers) 10 (F '50) 18-20. A glossary of several hundred modern Arabic words with French translation found in the works of 'Uthmān Amin and Maḥmūd Muhammad al-Khuḍayrī.
- 3733 BOROVKOV, A. K. "Outlines of the history of the Uzbek language, II." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 24-51. Sketches the structure of the language of the 14-15th century *tefsir* from Turkestan and points out the remnants of older dialects present in it.
- 3734 FREIMAN, A. A. "Khorezmian glosses in the *Qinyat al-Munya* by the 13th century lexicist al-Zāhidī al-Gazmīnī." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 63-88.
- 3735 KONONOV, A. N. "The etymology of 'deḡil'." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 97-101. This Turkish negation is a compound of (1) a word traced back to *yok* and (2) the pronoun *ol* (that, he).
- 3736 MEYKADEH, A. "The use of erroneous compounds and obscure words." (in Persian) *Ettela'at* 2 (My '50) 10-1. The complaints of a purist about some usages and tendencies in modern Persian.
- 3737 PUCHKOVSKY, L. S. "The closing formula in the letters of the Il-Khans Argun (1289) and Uljaitu (1305)." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 396-422. Analysis of the literature on the subject. The study of formulas and invocations is valuable because being strictly graded they throw light on the relations between the central authorities and their vassals.
- 3738 VINNIKOV, N. "Materials on the language and folklore of the Arabs of Bokhara." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49)

120-45. Several hundred people speak Arabic in the Uzbek Republic. Three tales in dialect are here transliterated, translated, and provided with a vocabulary.

See also: 3640, 3648, 3728.

LITERATURE

- 3739 BOMBACI, ALESSIO. "Postille alla traduzione della *Muqaddima* di Ibn Haldūn." *Annali* 3 ('49) 439-72. A number of translated passages once again demonstrate the need for a critical edition of this renowned work.
- 3740 FARIS, N. A. "Ibn al-Kalbi and the book of idols." *al-Abhāth* (Beirut) 3 (Je '50) 188-94. Part of the introduction to the English translation prepared by the author.
- 3741 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. "Una novella marabuttica di M. Taimūr." *Annali* 3 ('49) 473-86. A short note on Taymūr is followed by a translation of his story *Walī Allāh*.
- 3742 HEKMAT, ALI ASGHAR. "Une exegèse coranique du XIIe siècle en Persan." *J. Asiatique* 238 ('50) 91-6. *The Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār*, a Sufi commentary, was written by Rashid ad-Din al-Meybodī in 520 A.H.
- 3743 KRACHKOVSKY, I. Y. "The itinerary of Makarius of Antioch as a work of Arabic geographical literature." (in Russian) *Sov. Vostokovedeniye* 6 ('49) 185-98. Abridged from a comprehensive study of Arabic geographical literature. The Aleppo patriarch and his son Paul went to Russia around the middle of the 17th century.
- 3744 AL-MAQDISI, ANIS. "Social trends in modern Arabic literature." (in Arabic) *al-Abhāth* (Beirut) 3 (Je '50) 140-52. The call for modernization, especially in poetry. Steamer, airplane, automobile in Arabic verse.
- 3745 RIZZITANO, UMBERTO. "Spirito fa-raonico e spirito arabo nel pensiero dello scrittore egiziano Tawfiq al-Hakim." *Annali* 3 ('49) 487-97. Detailed analysis of al-Hakim's *Taht shams al-fikr*.
- 3746 RUBINACCI, ROBERTO. "Notizia di alcuni manoscritti ibādita esistenti presso l'Inst. Univ. Orient. di Napoli." *Annali* 3 ('49) 431-8. Seven authors are represented by eight mss. from Tripolitania.

See also: 3701.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 3747 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. "Studi di storia musulmana, 1940-1950." *Riv. Storica Italiana* 62 ('50) 98-110. A useful bird's-eye view of the advances made in the study of Islamic history during the past ten years.

- 3748 MARDIN, SHERIF. "Recent trends in Turkish historical writing." *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 356-8. The manner in which Turkey's evolution in the political sphere has influenced historical research since the founding of the Republic.
- 3749 MESROBIAN, ARPENA. "Mekhitar of Sebastia, 1676-1749." *Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 21-33. An account of the life of the founder of the famous Mekhitarist Monastery which, *inter alia*, in its 250 years of existence has "produced more than one hundred authors and more than one-fourth of all the Armenian books published within this period." Some of these are listed.
- 3750 TURKKAN, R. OGUZ. "The Turkish press." *Middle Eastern Aff.* 1 (My '50) 142-9. A valuable historical review of the main newspapers and periodicals.
- 3751 VAJDA, GEORGES. "Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Soci  t   Asiatique de Paris." *J. Asiatique* 238 ('50) 1-29. Lists 66 mss.
- 3759 ABD-EL-AL, IBRAHIM. *Le Litani. Geog. Rev.* 40 (Ja '50) 171-2. (H. Thompson Straw). "Mr. Abd-el-Al aims to study the hydrology of the Lebanon's principal river, the Litani, the way in which its valley and its waters are used at present, and plans for its development. The book could have been more selective and better balanced. . . . Nevertheless, the study is full of interest."
- 3760 ABU'L-FAZL, MIRZA. *The faith of Islam. Muslim World* 40 (Ap '50) 136-7. (F. K. Lazarus).
- 3761 ALONSO, MANUEL. *Teologia de Averroes. J. Asiatique.* 238 ('50) 169-79. (G. Vajda).
- 3762 ARAT, RE  ID RAHMETI. *Kutadgu bilig. I: metin. Islam* 29 ('49) 77-8. (A. Von Gabain).
- 3763 ARBERRY, A. J. *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.* Illust. *London News* 216 (Ap 15, '50) 572. (Sir John Squire). Edition based on a newly discovered ms. dated 658/1259-60.
- 3764 ARNAKIS, G. GEORGIADIS. *Hoi protoi Othomanoi. J. Nr. East. Stud.* 9 (Jl '50) 192. (L. V. Thomas). "This book . . . unquestionably enters the list of basic modern contributions to the question of Ottoman origins." English summary.
- 3765 ASLANAPA, OKTAY. *Osmanlılar devrinde Kutahya   inileri. Armenian Rev.* 3 (Je '50) 158-9. (H. Kurdian). This work is useful only for its chronological list of buildings erected by the Seljuqs and Ottomans, their condition, description of recent discoveries of some pottery in Kutahya, and some court records providing additional information on Armenian artisans.
- 3766 BABINGER, F. *Beitr  ge zur Fr  hgeschichte der T  rkenherrschaft im Rumelien (14-15 Jahrhundert).* *Islam* 29 ('49) 246-8. (F. Taeschner).

BIOGRAPHY

- 3752 "Max Krause, 1909-1944." *Islam* 29 ('49) 104-8.
- 3753 "Tadeusz Kowalski, 1889-1948." *Islam* 29 ('49) 109-12.
- 3754 WAVELL, EARL. "Sir Henry Holland." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 37 (Ja '50) 45-6. Sir Henry was a distinguished eye surgeon who was awarded the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal.
- 3755 WEIBEL, AD  LE COULIN. "In memoriam: Mehmet Aga-Oglu, 1896-1949." *Bull. of Detroit Inst. of Arts* 29 ('49-'50) 34-5. Aga-Oglu was a historian of Islamic art.
- See also: 3678, 3749.

BOOK REVIEWS

- 3756 *Final report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission. Internat. Aff.* 26 (Jl '50) 439. (George Kirk); *Middle East J.* 4 (Jl '50) 359-60. (Robert R. Nathan). The Mission's conclusions are criticized for not being bold enough.
- 3757 *The Holy Quran with English translation and commentary, I. J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 70 (Ap '50) 119. (Franz Rosenthal). "Readers . . . might find here authentic information about present-day Ahmadiyah thinking."
- 3758 ABD-EL-AL, IBRAHIM. *L'aridit   et l'  coulement dans les pays du Moyen-Orient. Geog. Rev.* 40 (Ja '50) 171. (H. Thompson Straw). Plots the hydrographic zones of Syria and the Lebanon, and describes the action of streams in supplying water during the summer dry season.
- 3767 BAHRAMI, MEHDI. *Gurgan faiences. Oriental Art* 2 (Spring '50) 164-5. (Arthur Lane). Important critical discussion, showing that the author's thesis of local pottery manufacture at Gurgan in the 12th/13th century is to a large extent untenable.
- 3768 BETHMANN, E. W. *Bridge to Islam. Muslim World* 40 (Jl '50) 228. (S. M. Zwemer). "This is an introductory textbook, prepared for the Seventh Day Adventist Churches in America . . . (its) special emphasis is apt to make the book unsuitable for the general reader."
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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>English</i>		<i>Arabic</i>
Acad., Academy	J., Journal	K., Kitāb
Aff., Affairs	Mag., Magazine	Maj., Majallah, Majallat
Amer., American	Mod., Modern	
Bull., Bulletin	Mus., Museum	
Cent., Central	Natl., National	<i>Italian</i>
Contemp., Contemporary	Numis., Numismatic	Mod., Moderno
Dept., Department	Orient., Oriental	
East., Eastern	Pal., Palestine	<i>Russian</i>
Geog., Geographical	Philol., Philological	Akad., Akademii
Gt. Brit., Great Britain	Polit., Political	Fil., Filosofi
Hist., Historical	Quart., Quarterly	Ist., Istorii
Illust., Illustrated	Res., Research	Izvest., Izvestiya
Inst., Institute	Rev., Review	Lit., Literaturi
Internat., International	Soc., Society	Otdel., Otdeleniye
	Stud., Studies	Ser., Seriya
	Trans., Transactions	Yaz., Yazika

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